THE Nation

VOLUME 146 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 25, 1938 NUMBER 26

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 711

EDITORIALS:

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH 713

ACCELERATED SURRENDER 713

ENOUGH ROPE FOR HAGUE 714

THE BATTLE LINES ARE DRAWN
by Paul Y. Anderson 715

OIL AND MEXICO'S FUTURE
by L. O. Prendergast 716

CAN PRAGUE RELY ON PARIS?
by Alexander Werth 718

COLUMNISTS ON PARADE
VIII. DOROTHY THOMPSON
by Margaret Marshall 721

IN THE WIND 724

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 725

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

THOMAS MANN'S DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO
by Max Lerner 726

EXPLAINING SHAKESPEARE by Mark Van Doren 728

OUT OF GEORGIA by Dorothy Van Doren 730

AUSTRIAN NEWSREEL by Franz Hoellering 730

REVIEWING AND REVIEWING by Eda Lou Walton 731

STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM by Paul M. Sweezy 732

MATHEMATICS AND LOGIC by V. J. McGill 733

SHORTER NOTICES 734

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 735

Editors
FREDA KIRCHWEY MAX LERNER

Managing Editor
M. R. BENDINER

Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL
Associate Editor MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL C. GRAY

The Shape of Things

BY CUTTING THE YELLOW RIVER DIKES AND allowing the muddy waters of China's "river of sorrows" to inundate a vast area just being occupied by the Japanese troops, China has apparently checked Japan's main drive on Chengchow and Hankow. Whether by accident or design, the timing of the Chinese retreat could not have been bettered. When the retreat started, the Yellow River was relatively low, but the retirement had scarcely begun before heavy rains set in which would have caused a flood even if the dikes had not been breached. The flood has not only given the Chinese time to reorganize their troops for the defense of Hankow but, in saving Chengchow, has permitted them to maintain direct rail connections between Hankow and the western provinces of Shensi and Kansu. While it is impossible to estimate the loss of life caused by the flood, it is certainly much less than is claimed in Japanese statements. Most of the inhabitants are known to have withdrawn with the Chinese armies well ahead of the flood waters. Frustrated in their long-prepared offensive against the Lunghai railway, the Japanese are attempting to drive up the Yangtze toward Hankow. In this, however, they face great obstacles. There are no railways or roads, and the Yangtze is blocked in at least two places by booms. Japan has now warned the powers of its intention to extend military operations over a vast area to the south and west. But Chinese morale seems, even in the face of these threats, to be improving. Should the Cabinet be reorganized, as reports say it will be, to include T. V. Soong and Eugene Chen as Finance Minister and Foreign Minister respectively, China will have the strongest government in its history, one which has an excellent chance of ultimately winning the war.

THE CROSS-SECTION POLL IS HERE TO STAY. Its value as a corrective to the rationalizations of a minority-minded press in a democracy is beyond question. The *Fortune* Quarterly Survey has just published the results of a nation-wide sampling of opinion on President Roosevelt. The answers are all the more im-

The NATION, Published weekly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 18, 1897, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 8, 1879. Copyright, 1938, by The Nation, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pressive because *Fortune,* as an organ of finance and industry, has never shown much love for the President. The editors report that a clear majority of the people still favor the President in general; a vast majority of all classes and sections like his personality; a clear majority support his economic objectives and his wages-and-hours legislation; a large majority agree with him that nothing would be gained by wage cuts; and an even larger majority stand with him in his rearmament policy and his foreign policy. While opinion is lukewarm on the President's attitude toward unions, business, and the TVA, it is generally with him; more people approve than disapprove. The division in this field is along class lines, with labor, farmers, Negroes, and the unemployed strongly favoring these policies. A similar cleavage is shown in the vote on whether the President has too much power and whether Congress should work more closely with him. Sentiment on his advisers and on the reorganization bill tends to go against him. A disquieting disclosure is the apathy of Americans toward foreign events, with 35 per cent of the voters expressing no definable attitude and, more important, with 67 per cent opposed to the admission of refugees.

*

THE SADISTS OF BERLIN ARE CAREFUL TO hide from foreign scrutiny the economic and political difficulties of the Third Reich, but the savagery of their latest attack upon the Jews undoubtedly reflects an acute inner strain. The regime needs money; the Czechoslovakian coup having failed, it also needs a scapegoat. So it subjects its Jewish population to systematic hold-up and beats its victims as they run, while the world is treated to a spectacle of cowardly brutality refined to the point of insanity. Thus before he can leave the country a Jew whose property is taken is required to pay an emigrant tax amounting to one-fourth of the capital value of the confiscated property; homes are entered at any hour and their occupants carted off to crowded jails or concentration camps without explanation or charge; insults in yellow paint scream from shop windows, sidewalks, and park benches; and the whole dirty business is declared to have been caused by the Jews' "insolent and provocative" attitude. Meanwhile the Nazis count on feeding the fires of anti-Semitism everywhere by dumping upon a world in depression thousands of penniless Jewish refugees.

*

NEVER ADDICTED TO THE BELIEF THAT *nihil nisi bonum* should be spoken of the dead, we have no editorial wreath to offer the late Senator Copeland. By virtue of his committee memberships his chief work as a Senator was in connection with merchant-marine problems and food-and-drug legislation. Yet among seamen he was cordially detested as author of the notorious "fink-book" proposal, which would have provided the most vicious blacklisting device known in labor relations; and his ardor in whitewashing shipowners accused of stinting safety-at-sea devices was equaled only by his zeal in getting those same shipowners fat government subsidies. As guardian of the purity of food and drugs, the Doctor-Senator was instrumental in weakening every genuine attempt to curb irresponsible labeling and advertising, and even hired himself out as a regular speaker on radio programs sponsored by food manufacturers. But if his life was politically uninspired, his death at this moment is politically important. It opens up a whole slate of new possibilities and combinations in New York State, which in the fall will for the first time in many years elect two United States Senators as well as an entire state ticket. It may mean that Governor Lehman will be urged by his party to run for the Senate along with Senator Wagner, and that Solicitor General Robert Jackson, Representative Mead, or Judge Poletti may be put up for governor. With Lehman disposed of as a candidate to succeed himself at Albany, the Republicans are more likely to nominate District Attorney Dewey, which in turn will pose a problem for the American Labor Party, now grown several degrees cooler toward Mr. Dewey. Even Mayor LaGuardia is not to be overlooked in what now may easily prove the outstanding election battle of the year.

*

MORE THAN TWO YEARS HAVE ELAPSED since the night when Joseph Shoemaker, S. J. Rogers, and Eugene Poulnot were mercilessly flogged, tarred, and feathered in Tampa. Members of the "Modern Democrats," a moderate left-wing group, they were seized by police in a private home, taken to headquarters, then carried to a remote spot where they were tortured; nine days later Shoemaker died. Now the last of three trials of their assailants has ended with the acquittal of all five former policemen, and the Tampa authorities announce that the case is closed. They are wrong. Judicial whitewash does not remove such stains, and the latest trial has merely demonstrated that federal intervention alone can shatter the corrupt structure responsible for Shoemaker's death. By invoking judicial technicalities the defense succeeded in barring vital evidence, by character assaults on Poulnot and Rogers it discredited —to the jury's satisfaction—much of the admitted testimony, and by appealing to every current of sectional prejudice it won its verdict of acquittal. That verdict is a ringing summons for the La Follette committee. In a moment of wish-fulfilment we recently included Tampa in a list of investigations made by the committee; the announcement was premature but the need is greater than ever. Florida's authorities should not be allowed to forget Joseph Shoemaker's last words—"I did not know that men could be so mean."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Seventy-fifth

WHEN the Seventy-fifth Congress folded up and passed into history, most American citizens were far more interested in another historic event—Johnny Van der Meer's feat in pitching two successive no-hit, no-run games in major-league baseball. Which is, perhaps, as it should be. The Seventy-fifth Congress in its second and third sessions was too equivocal and too confused to leave any sharp imprint on the lives of the common people.

It passed the wage-hour bill and the relief-recovery bill. It put through a huge armaments budget. It enacted a new agricultural act. It passed a series of minor but none the less important regulatory measures, such as the law affecting over-the-counter securities and revisions of the food-and-drug law, the bankruptcy act, and tax legislation. It initiated immensely important investigations, particularly those of monopolies, the TVA, elections, relief, civil liberties, un-American activities, lobbying. It adjourned leaving the usual quota of unfinished business. Compared with the disastrous first session, which was dominated by the rise and fall of the court plan, the special and final sessions of the Seventy-fifth were pretty good. Measured against the opportunities that Congress had, they were shabby. Which leaves the verdict, in the final analysis, pretty much run-of-the-mill.

Above all else the Congress talked—freely, copiously, noisily, mostly foolishly, but it talked. That, and not only the enactment of legislation, is its function as a parliament. Despite the new sense of urgency that comes from economic collapse, a Congress will never be an efficient lawmaking body. Only rarely and under the stress of great crisis, as with the Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Congresses, is a succession of important laws quickly enacted. For the rest Congress operates as an arena of opinion and a battleground of shifting party alignments between elections.

The Seventy-fifth was an arena of opinion, but a bad one. Many times it was prepared to count Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal out, but the voters—speaking through the primaries and the new institution of informal polls—did not allow it. One can only conclude that Congress did not, to start with, adequately represent its constituencies; and that it was, in addition, an easy prey to business pressure groups and opinion-forming machines. Hence the necessity for the party battles that went on in the Seventy-fifth Congress. So far from deploring the emergence of a sharp cleavage between the tory and progressive wings of the Democratic Party, we welcome it. To have made this cleavage clear was a historic contribution. It points the direction for future social action. And the current *Fortune* poll, which we discuss elsewhere, leaves little doubt what the people will say when they speak.

Only one thing further. Even when Congress is confused, government goes on. For in the modern world the real axis of government has shifted to the administrative agencies.

Accelerated Surrender

FOUR months have passed since Anthony Eden resigned as Foreign Minister of England in protest against Chamberlain's policy of conciliation toward the aggressors. At the outset there was a deceptive plausibility about Chamberlain's strategy. It was argued that since both Italy and Germany have legitimate complaints and since they would not hesitate to throw the world into war to achieve their ends, it is the part of wisdom to make concessions. Eden himself was not wholly unfavorable to the idea of making terms with the potential aggressors, but he insisted that such an agreement would be meaningless unless the dictator powers gave concrete evidence of intending to live up to it.

Enough time has now elapsed to pass a considered judgment on the practical effects of Chamberlain's tactics. Peace has been maintained in Europe, but at what cost? Austria was lost, and now republican Spain, too, is to be sacrificed regardless of consequences. The insurgents are pressing toward Valencia, and the French government has finally agreed to close the Pyrenees frontier. Chamberlain has not only shown complete indifference to the fate of Spanish democracy but is trying desperately to satisfy Mussolini's every demand.

Only in Czechoslovakia has the course of the warmakers been halted. And here the halt was called by the Czechs with their small but well-equipped army. The Czech municipal elections have served to strengthen the hand of the government. Although the Sudeten German Party claims some 90 per cent of the vote in the German districts, the government parties gained heavily elsewhere. The Slovak autonomist party led by Hlinka suffered a slight loss, while the other fascist and right-wing parties lost even more. For the moment, at least, prospects of a compromise on the nationalities issue seem brighter. The government has agreed to regard Henlein's recent memorandum as well as its own proposed nationalities statute as a basis for negotiation, and Henlein is reported to have modified his demands.

Back of Henlein's unexpected moderation lies the essential weakness of the Third Reich. German foreign trade, which closed 1937 with a favorable balance, has shown an increasing deficit thus far this year. The repudiation of Austria's foreign loans—which has angered England—was a result of necessity rather than deliberate policy. The bad showing made by the mechanized branch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the army at the time of the occupation of Austria has made Hitler shrink from the prospect of actual conflict. Faced by failure of its wheat harvest and an extraordinarily heavy adverse trade balance, Italy is even weaker than Germany economically. Had there been a strong government in England in recent months, both Austria and Spain might have been saved without serious risk of war. Mussolini and Hitler could have been forced to a position where they would have had to accept disarmament and return to the League in return for the righting of the genuine injustices that had been done their countries. The opportunity is still there, but every indication points to a policy of accelerated surrender to fascist demands.

Enough Rope for Hague

IT IS all too easy for progressives and intellectuals to laugh at Mayor Hague's atrocious grammar and his moronic political theory. It is all too smart for sophisticates to pay him the inverted condescension of admiring his courtroom manner and his dramatic flair. Frank Hague is nobody's fool and he is far more than an actor. For all his display of political primitivism he has shown the qualities that have made him one of the top-flight political bosses in America—the shrewdness, the quickness, the overbearing force, the elaborate directness and sincerity, the uncanny ability to pick his own battleground, the capacity to size up the political potentialities of a situation and exploit them to the full. Such a man is no laughing matter. He is dangerous.

And for that reason we don't like the way the injunction trial has been going. The C. I. O. counsel have been able, and the business of getting Hague into a courtroom and subjecting him to the same rule of law that has been the graveyard of tyrannies under the Anglo-Saxon system since the Stuart kings has been a real achievement. Liberals have always felt that the best specific to apply to error is air and sunlight. This is part of our heritage from the age of rationalism and was sound enough as a rule of thumb in an era when feudal institutions were crumbling and ideas were on the march in an expanding economy. But more than that is needed when a new feudalism is being built and insecurities and fears are mounting in a contracting economy. The idea has evidently been to let Frank Hague talk, to give him enough rope to hang himself with. But the question is, will he use it for himself or for us?

Hague has been given a national audience that he never hoped for. For the first time Americans have heard seriously and effectively expounded in a courtroom the doctrine that labor organizers are reds, that civil liberties are Communist fabrications, and that a patriotic mayor who is a he-man and can recognize his reds can also protect his people against them. These are ludicrous doctrines, but let us not dismiss their force. To many people these doctrines, for all their crudeness, will come to clinch a prejudice or verbalize a sense of insecurity. And the conservative columnists and editorial writers who are today hastening to show their own enlightenment as against Hague's Cimmerian darkness have prepared the soil for the reception of his ideas by their attacks upon the C. I. O. and the Wagner Act.

We believe in giving publicity to error, and we believe in what Justice Holmes called the "free competition of ideas in the market-place"—provided it is fair competition. But in this case the issues have been falsely joined, and false antitheses have been posed. Hague has shrewdly made the question for decision the validity of his own ideas about Communists, and this has allowed him to drag in all the shreds of gossip and all the canards of the Lusk Committee report. And he has just as shrewdly fixed on Morris L. Ernst, counsel for the C. I. O. in the injunction suit, as the head and source of the fantastic Communist conspiracy he has constructed in his imagination. This gives him a chance to accuse his accuser, to dramatize his own talent for direct vituperation, to drag a thousand red herrings across the path of the real issues. Actually neither Mr. Ernst nor the Communists have anything to do with the issues at stake. It is not a question of Mr. Hague against Mr. Ernst, nor of Mr. Hague against the Communists. It is a question of Mr. Hague against the right of labor to organize in Jersey City, of Mr. Hague against the right of anyone (whether Communist or not) to speak in Jersey City, of Mr. Hague against the Wagner Act, of Mr. Hague against the United States government.

These are the legal issues. Behind them are social issues that cannot be fought out in a courtroom but that will decide the final outcome. Hague's followers are only partly a paid army and a mass of camp-followers and political prostitutes. Behind them are the uprooted, the insecure, the *Lumpenproletariat* that will attach itself to any doctrine which promises violence and perquisites. They do not know who it is that really calls the tune that Hague dances to. They do not know—for no one has yet taken the trouble to investigate—who the industrialists are in Jersey City who stand behind Hague and tolerate his antics and his taxes so long as they are exempted from labor organizers.

Beyond Hague and beyond Jersey City lie other confused populations and other vest-pocket bosses and demagogues ambitious to become dictators—the George Harveys, the Gerald Winrods, the Tom Pendergasts. By not taking a hand in the Jersey City situation Mr. Roosevelt and the Administration are storing up trouble for themselves. For beneath the veneer of liberalism in America lie frightening possibilities of violence. And the Hagues are wearing that veneer ever thinner.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Battle Lines Are Drawn

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

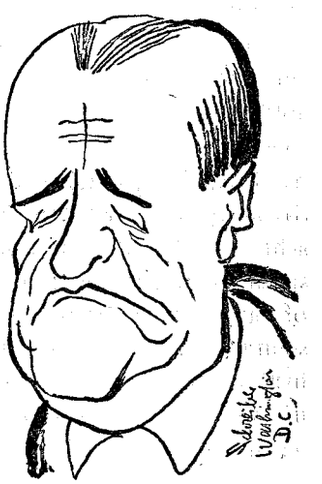
Washington, June 20

AT LAST the lines are drawn for a decisive battle between New Dealers and Old Dealers for control of the Democratic Party. The summer primaries will be the scene of the opening engagements, although the issue is not likely to be decided until the national convention in 1940. In personal terms, the struggle is between the wing led by President Roosevelt and that commanded by Vice-President Garner. The implications of that will be denied but the fact will remain. The break has been inevitable for at least two years and now it is here. Final evidence was supplied over the week-end by Senator Sheppard, of Texas. He and the lord of Uvalde are old political cronies who never get their wires crossed. Speaking as chairman of the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures, Sheppard announced that all senatorial candidates will be required to answer a searching questionnaire, disclosing, among other things, whether any government funds are being expended in their behalf and whether they are receiving assistance from any official or agency of the government.

That sounds virtuous enough; in one sense it is quite virtuous. But such steps are not motivated by considerations of virtue, and in this instance the purpose is entirely obvious. It simply means that wherever the Administration attempts to throw its support to a New Deal candidate, the committee on campaign expenditures will endeavor to checkmate it. If Sheppard's announcement had left any doubt on the subject, it would have been removed by the statement of Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, also a member of the committee. Walsh, one of the most stalwart of the Old Dealers, said he would urge the appointment of "trained investigators, with prosecuting experience." He also suggested that the committee divide the country into zones, with one member responsible for each zone, in order to be ready to crack down at a moment's notice.

On the other side, the President is finally showing an inclination to abandon his pretense of "neutrality" in these contests. It is high time. He is not neutral, and it would reflect no credit on his courage and self-respect if he were. The issue is one of political integrity and should be faced boldly. He is going into Kentucky for the express purpose of aiding Senator Barkley, and the indications are he will find it convenient to strike a blow for Bulkley in Ohio and Thomas in Oklahoma. Tydings of Maryland and McCarran of Nevada believe the Administration is out to defeat them for renomination, and I think they are correct. The question is how far it will go, and the danger is that it won't go far enough.

Because the House Rules Committee refused to be "intimidated" by John L. Lewis, the House was denied an opportunity to vote on the amendment to the Walsh-Healey Act, and consequently the government will continue to make it profitable for contractors to violate its laws. At least, that was the committee's excuse. Of course, the excuse is a falsehood. The truth is that the Rules Committee, occupying a strategic bottle-neck in the national legislative process, is packed with reactionary tools of special interests. That this gang of legislative assassins is permitted to exercise a veto power more conclusive than the President's is a mockery of democratic government, and is rapidly becoming a national scandal. It is no exaggeration to say that John J. O'Connor of New York has succeeded in making himself the greatest individual obstacle to good government in Washington. For a Tammany ward politician such as O'Connor and a Southern vigilante such as Cox of Georgia, along with half a dozen others who are no better, to be able to kill legislation which would pass overwhelmingly if it could be brought to a vote is a condition which needs no further characterization.



Representative O'Connor

Lewis's "invasion" of Speaker Bankhead's office was, of course, grossly misrepresented in most of the newspapers. He called by appointment to urge that the House be permitted to vote on the amendment. If the call had been made—for a contrary purpose—by an agent of the National Association of Manufacturers it might have been noticed to the extent of a paragraph or two, and a visit by William Green would have attracted no more attention. If it is wicked for the head of a labor organization to call openly on leaders of the House to urge that the members be allowed to vote on a pending bill which has already passed the Senate, then my sense of moral values has disappeared. The entire uproar was a hypo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critical diversion carried out to protect corporations which are profiting from government contracts while breaking its laws.

I am always amused by newspaper accounts of the adjournment of Congress. "Washington Evacuated," said one headline. The reader envisions dozens of special trains puffing out of the station, airplanes taking off on intervals of two or three minutes, and automobiles streaming out on the congested highways. There is even a hint of families picking their way toward the open country; their pitiful belongings piled high on carts and burros. Actually, some 600,000 of us remain behind, and this promises to be the busiest summer official Washington has seen since the lunatic days of the NRA, when every other man had a brief case in his hand and the febrile glow of dementia in his eye. Occupying the center of the stage, no doubt, will be the investigation of monopoly. The committee selections from the House and Senate were hardly brilliant—a circumstance in which we may discern the fine hands of Garner and Bankhead. Borah won't work hard. O'Mahoney means well, but he is neither a Tom Walsh nor a Hugo Black. However, the six members from the executive departments should be ample to handle the situation.

Incidentally, a significant speech was delivered at Detroit last week by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, new head of the anti-trust division. Emphasizing that if the criminal provisions of the law are to operate as a deterrent it must be generally understood that all violations will be prosecuted vigorously, he declared that the government will not compromise criminal cases on the basis of promises to desist from illegal practices. The declaration of policy was timely because on the preceding day, before the same audience, my old friend Donald Richberg had delivered one of those soothing-syrup lullabys for which he is becoming entirely too famous. He seemed to be saying that the way to end all the ill-feeling and discontent in this country is for everybody to forget about the anti-trust laws, join one big trade association, and sign a code of fair practice. I can't make out whether he is kidding himself or the rest of us.

Oil and Mexico's Future

BY L. O. PRENDERGAST

Mexico City, June 15

FASCISM'S first violent bid for power in Mexico has come to an inglorious end. The Cedillo revolt, so abundantly advertised in advance, fizzled out like a damp firecracker as soon as the match was applied by the government itself. It would be downright flattery to dignify the incident with the word "rebellion," although the foreign correspondents here seem to have done a good job of persuading the American people that the whole country was in arms. Cedillo never represented a real danger. At the same time, had he been allowed to proceed unmolested with his preparations, he might, within perhaps so short a time as three or four months, have given the administration a good many headaches. This was the real reason prompting Cárdenas's action in provoking Cedillo into an ill-timed and unprepared rebellion which could be easily and decisively crushed.

Ever since the expropriation of the oil companies Mexico's economic situation has been deteriorating at a dizzy rate. This result was by no means unlooked for. Both Cárdenas and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the leader of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (the C. T. M.), had warned the country that it must be prepared to make considerable sacrifices in exchange for the recovery of its petroleum wealth. Nevertheless, it is probable that no one anticipated just how rapid and how disastrous the crash would be, particularly in comparison with the boom conditions that have prevailed here during the past several years. Part of the present crisis is undoubtedly due to the collapse in the United States, inevitably reflected in the almost wholly satellite economy of this semi-colonial country. Nevertheless, since the bulk of Mexican exports is made up of minerals and petroleum, both vital necessities for the flourishing armaments industry throughout the world, the country might reasonably have expected to escape the worst effects of the new depression if other circumstances had remained normal. The tariff measures adopted last January to defend the stability of the currency were in fact directed toward that goal.

But with the expropriation of the oil industry and the simultaneous suspension by the United States of the purchase of Mexican silver the full weight of the imperialist offensive against the social-reform program of the present administration was unleashed. We may assume that Prime Minister Chamberlain would have liked nothing better than to send a British squadron to bombard Vera Cruz or, at the very least, to stage a naval demonstration in the most approved imperialist fashion off the Mexican coast; it would have been an agreeable way of diverting British opinion from the "realistic" policy which, in its dealings with Hitler and Mussolini, falls somewhat short

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of complete truculence. Prevented by the Monroe Doctrine from indulging in this activity, he adopted the next best course, that is, slow financial strangulation.

How directly involved the British and American oil companies have been in the Cedillo revolt it is still impossible to say, for the obvious reason that if the documentary evidence of their complicity exists, it has not been made public. But they cannot deny their responsibility for the actions that prepared the way for Cedillo's premature attempt. In spite of the apparent desire of the United States government to arrive at a swift and amicable solution of the oil controversy, the American companies have actively seconded the Chamberlain policy by joining the English in a boycott of Mexico's "stolen" oil. The general uncertainty and alarm in Mexico, the lack of business confidence in the government's ability to emerge from the struggle with a whole skin, the flight of capital —initiated and engineered by the oil companies—the rapid falling off of production, and the cessation of petroleum exports made it impossible to defend the value of the currency any longer. In the past three months the peso has fallen from 20 to 25 per cent below its former level. The earlier precipitous rise of domestic prices has thus been aggravated by a sharp increase in the price of imported articles. Mexican manufactures, which in large part depend on imported raw and semi-finished materials, are facing enforced shutdown as a result. With the falling off of industrial production and exports the government's revenues have correspondingly declined, and public works are being drastically curtailed. Unemployment and a general collapse appear certain unless the diplomatic horizon unexpectedly clears.

Some time ago I wrote in *The Nation* that the reactionary enemies of the Cárdenas government would welcome a depression as the best means of discrediting and overthrowing the regime. If the Mexican people could be persuaded that their woes were the result of the "Bolshevik" policies of the madman in the National Palace, it would be relatively easy to turn him out and to instal a government which, if not openly fascist, would at any rate end the threat to industrial super-profits and unlimited rural exploitation represented by the labor and agrarian program of the Cárdenas government.

The consequences of the oil expropriation thus played directly into the hands of the reactionaries. Here was an issue hand-tailored to their needs, and in any action they finally nerved themselves to take they could reasonably count on the powerful aid of the oil companies. Naturally, they had to move with great circumspection, concealing their purposes under a show of patriotic enthusiasm for the defeat of oil imperialism, but under the surface they worked feverishly for the great day. And this is the explanation of the Cedillo revolt. Given another three or four months in which to mature, it would have attracted the adherence of the largely fascist-minded middle class, of numerous groups of disillusioned and unemployed workers, of many deluded peasants, of the church—whose most powerful protector Cedillo has been in his own state, of native industrialists and landowners, and of foreign interests bent on inducing in Mexico the comfortable somnolence of the Calles period, when reactionary policies were disguised under a cloak of "socialist" demagogy. In this set-up Cedillo was no more than a dummy. He was valuable only because he was the only nationally known general with prestige in certain army circles who was ready and willing to stick out his neck. As a permanent leader of counter-revolution he was merely a joke. Incredibly ignorant and even in military matters utterly incompetent, he would unquestionably have been replaced as soon as his task of initiating the movement had been accomplished; candidates for the post of the Mexican *caudillo* are unhappily not lacking.

Looked at wholly objectively, the "revolt" was deliberately provoked by President Cárdenas for two reasons: to dispose of the Cedillo conspiracy before it took on more dangerous proportions; and to dramatize the perilous situation of the country in such a way as to rally the population to the government's defense while at the same time exposing the machinations of its enemies. That is to say, in view of the existing economic and political situation, it was essential for the stability of the government to crush a feeble rebellion now and thus solidify its support and its prestige, rather than have to face a more powerful movement later, when its ability to deal with it successfully might have been undermined by attacks from without and treachery from within the administration. Cedillo fell into the trap thus prepared for him because he had very little choice in the matter. Submission to the President's ultimatum to surrender his arms would have meant consigning himself to the political scrap heap. Moreover, he had been so inflated by the constant adulation of the reactionary press during the past two years that he fondly imagined a large part of the nation would rise to his support once the die was cast. But the newspapers were far cannier than their dupe. They saw quickly enough that the game was up and turned on him with a unanimity of vicious invective that would have done them more credit had they not previously deliberately inflamed his dream of dictatorship.

It would be comforting to believe that with Cedillo's collapse the fascist menace has been met and defeated in Mexico, but nothing could be more dangerously untrue. On the contrary, unless there is a rapid and distinct improvement in economic conditions, unrest and dissatisfaction, with all their explosive possibilities in the hands of shrewd and unscrupulous demagogues, will continue to grow. The future attitude of the oil companies is of decisive importance. Should Mexico be able to come to an agreement with them on the terms of indemnification, the internal situation would improve at once, as a large

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

part of the present alarm would immediately disappear with the resumption of petroleum exports and the rise in the value of the currency. But this, obviously, is precisely what the oil companies will move heaven and earth to prevent. They know that Mexico can pay them only in goods—which in this case must be oil—for the country's sole resources are its natural wealth. They are therefore holding out for cash payment and at the same time imposing a boycott on Mexican oil, thus far almost 100 per cent effective, which makes it impossible for Mexico to obtain cash.

It is inconceivable that the Roosevelt Administration will continue to tolerate the irresponsible attempts of these international buccaneers to destroy Mexico's growing democracy. No matter how distressing some of the officials of the State Department may find the policies of the present Mexican government, they must realize the danger of allowing Mexico to be transformed into an American Spain to which Guatemala would willingly play the role of Portugal. Without American support, the English must eventually come to terms with Mexico because they cannot afford permanently to lose access to the Mexican oil fields. But as long as Washington tacitly condones the active cooperation of the American companies in the British campaign against Mexican solvency and political stability, Chamberlain can hardly be expected to alter his policy. After all, the oil companies are rich enough to wait almost indefinitely; Mexico lacks such staying power. But Mexico will not go down without fighting, nor, no matter how grave the internal situation may become, will the Cárdenas government lose the support of the majority of the Mexican people—the organized workers of the C. T. M., now nearly a million strong, and the recipients of land distributed under the agrarian reform, the *ejidatarios,* now the most powerful organized section of the rural population. And both groups are receiving military training in preparation for any eventuality. In other words, the imperialist offensive against Mexico may win, but only at the cost of repeating, on American soil, the bloodshed and iniquity of the Spanish tragedy.

The issue before the American State Department is thus clear. It is essential that the United States abandon any attempt to pull the British chestnuts out of the fire, and that it let the American oil companies understand that they will find no Administration support for their conspiracy to foment counter-revolution in Mexico through the economic strangulation of the country. The United States has already acknowledged that Mexico was fully within its sovereign rights in taking over the oil industry. Mexico has promised to pay the value of the properties and is willing to make the payment in the only form possible. If the State Department is to be consistent with its own declaration of policy and loyal to its obligations toward a neighboring friendly democracy, it must discourage the plots of the oil companies to regain by violence what they were too arrogant and stupid to retain lawfully.

Can Prague Rely on Paris?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 7

MORE than two weeks have passed since the "danger day" of May 21, the date of the first of a series of Czechoslovakian elections; and peace in Europe—with the exception of Spain—remains intact, though still precarious. It will be for future historians to distribute the credit for having kept Europe from plunging into war. In the days immediately preceding the vote Hitler was to all appearances ready to invade Czechoslovakia as he had invaded Austria. And then he changed his mind. Why? First, because the Czech government by calling up two classes of reserves showed that, unlike the unhappy Austrians, the Czechs would fight; secondly, because Hitler suddenly became convinced that France was not bluffing, and that it also would mobilize; lastly, because Sir Nevile Henderson, the British ambassador in Berlin, presented to the Wilhelmstrasse a very strong note which clearly indicated that in the event of a European war England could not be relied upon to remain neutral.

The action taken by the Czechs, the French, and the British had the cumulative effect of staying Hitler's hand. But there are still two possibilities to be feared. One is that Germany may become convinced that the action of the three democratic powers on that day was after all only a colossal bluff, and that next time it must be called. The other is that Hitler, even if he is convinced that England and France are in dead earnest, may still invade Czechoslovakia and take the risk of a general war, especially if he has reason to believe that Italy will be on his side. But this danger is not so great. First of all, Italy cannot be absolutely depended upon, since it has no desire to help Germany to acquire European hegemony. If Franco had already won in Spain, Italy's entry into a war on Germany's side would be a much safer bet; but so long as the Loyalist government keeps up resistance,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a general war, in which the Spanish republic would be an ally of France and no longer hampered by "non-intervention," would make Italy's position in Spain highly precarious. Britain and France, of course, do not want to have to fight both Germany and Italy and will make desperate efforts to buy Italy's neutrality. I have heard a prominent Frenchman say: "Why worry about Italy? The day the war breaks out we'll give it Tunisia." Secondly, there are Poland and Yugoslavia. When it comes to the point neither has anything to gain from an Italian-German victory. I have heard a Pole say: "No, we shall not follow France blindly if it goes to the help of Czechoslovakia, but we shall do whatever England does. *We* don't want German hegemony either." And there is also Russia—a dark horse perhaps, but one with which Germany must reckon if it attacks Czechoslovakia and even more if it starts a general war. In short, Germany's chances of winning in a general war seem rather unfavorable. It would naturally prefer a "localized" war —and it is this which France and England can still prevent by firmness.

The evolution of French opinion in relation to Czechoslovakia has been curious to watch. Before the German reoccupation of the Rhineland on March 7, 1936, the Franco-Czech alliance was never queried. It is true that certain papers of the extreme right had been continuously hostile to Czechoslovakia for being a democratic and "masonic" country—Benes was supposed to be a freemason—and also for being one of the most active members of the League. Léon Daudet, in the *Action Française,* had said that if Czechoslovakia received the lion's share of the Dual Monarchy it was because Benes and Philippe Berthelot were freemasons who had planned the destruction of Catholic Austria. In the days of the Abyssinian affair the press of the right was anti-Czech because Czechoslovakia supported the League. But even the French right never questioned the Franco-Czech alliance. The reoccupation of the Rhineland, however, created a new situation, since the consequent threatened fortification of the border would be a strategic obstacle to the application of the alliance. But even this was not a matter of immediate concern, for it was said in France that several years would be required for fortifying the Rhineland.

Nevertheless, after March 7, 1936, France found it necessary to give Czechoslovakia new assurances that it would "march" if Czechoslovakia were attacked. Before that time there had been no need for such assurances; the fact that they were now made showed that there were doubts on the subject to be allayed—in France, and in Germany, and in England. In France itself anti-League and anti-collective-security elements began to speak of the difficulty of helping Czechoslovakia; Fernand de Brinon, a friend of M. Laval's and a member of the rather mysterious Comité France-Allemagne, discreetly advocated an "understanding with Germany" under which Germany would be given a more or less free hand in the East. Even official quarters were not altogether immune to such ideas.

But actually Central Europe still remained in the background; and it was not until the end of 1937 that serious alarm began to be felt in French government quarters. M. Delbos's "friendly tour" to Warsaw, Bucharest, Belgrade, and Prague had proved a fiasco. France suddenly realized how low its prestige had fallen since 1934, when Barthou visited these capitals. The general public in Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Poland still seemed pro-French, but the governments were lukewarm or plainly frigid; and in Belgrade a pro-French (and anti-Stoyadinovich) demonstration was brutally dispersed by the police. "Poor Delbos," Robert Dell remarked, "anyone crying *Vive la France* was shot down by the police." Czechoslovakia alone was completely loyal to France; the others were, more or less, reinsuring themselves with Germany. The Franco-Soviet pact was cordially disliked by the governments of Poland and Yugoslavia, and so was the Front Populaire.

And then, in the two months that followed, the trouble started in earnest—a Cabinet crisis in France in January, and then, on February 4, the purge in the Reichswehr and the appointment of Ribbentrop as Foreign Minister. A week later, on February 12, came the Berchtesgaden ultimatum, then, on February 20, Hitler's menacing speech, and that same evening Eden's resignation. Two days later Mr. Chamberlain said: "We must not try to delude small weak nations into thinking that they will be protected by the League against aggression and acting accordingly when we know that nothing of the kind can be expected"—an ominous statement which many remembered on March 12 when the German armies marched into defenseless Austria. France was deeply perturbed by Eden's resignation, and not least M. Delbos. In a statement to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber he hastened to say that there would be no essential change in France's foreign policy, that France continued to believe in the League and would be loyal to its allies.

During February and March French elements which had for a long time insidiously advocated the policy of giving Germany a "free hand in the East" came out into the open; they felt that their opportunity had come. The first prominent public figure to voice such ideas publicly was M. Flandin. He had gone to Germany in the fall of 1937 and been much impressed by what he saw there, and after Delbos's unfortunate tour he began to speak of "intrenchment behind the Maginot line," "direct understanding with Germany," "France an empire power after the manner of Great Britain rather than a European power." On February 11 he embroidered further on this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theme, saying that France was rearming because of the Communists (that is, because of the Franco-Soviet pact, even though it was he who as Premier, in February, 1936, had proposed its ratification to the Chamber) and that if, instead, it came to terms with Germany and Italy it would not need to rearm. There is little doubt that M. Flandin thought of making political capital out of his new policy; perhaps he had a "hunch" concerning what was about to happen in London—the total change in British policy, which it would be France's duty to follow. After Mr. Chamberlain's speech of February 22 Flandin looked for a day or two like the prophet of the New Truth. But the Chamber, in its debate of February 26-27, disavowed Flandin's ideas completely; nobody indorsed his policy directly or indirectly, or what then seemed to be Mr. Chamberlain's policy. Flandin's speech on the second day of the debate was a climb-down.

And yet it was clear that France was not going to do anything about Austria. After the Berchtesgaden ultimatum, even while Eden was still in office, Delbos, speaking to a number of journalists, threw up his arms in despair and said that it was no use interfering in a quarrel between seventy million people and seven million, with all the guns on the side of the seventy million. In any case, with Eden gone, the last hope of saving Austria vanished—unless, indeed, Italy was prepared to act. But it was not. Chamberlain's speech had given Germany full freedom of action; and when on March 9 the Chautemps Cabinet resigned and France was left without a government, the conditions for invading Austria were perfect.

What happened after that in France was very strange. Blum, in forming the new Cabinet on the day of the Anschluss, made a desperate appeal to the right to join in a national government, but they refused. It looked as if they were unaware of the full gravity of the international situation. And during the weeks that followed a press campaign of the worst sort was started against Czechoslovakia. Its purpose was to encourage defeatism in France. Some of these articles were no doubt prompted by the desire to save France from war at any price, no matter if Germany became all-powerful in a few years' time; but others had, plainly, been paid for by German propaganda agencies, which had never been so active in France before. All those elements which had supported Laval against the League denounced the Soviet pact, attacked the Front Populaire, and supported Franco now made the discovery that Czechoslovakia was "not a country at all," and that it would be folly for France to fight for it. "Will you fight for the Czechs?" asked *Gringoire*, the organ of the Chiappe gang. And the *Jour*, and *Candide*, and *Je Suis Partout*, and other papers joined the chorus. Even the serious and solemn *Temps* published an article by Professor Joseph Barthélemy, who argued that the Czech alliance was no longer legally valid, that Czechoslovakia was not a "real" country, and that it was strategically impossible to go to its aid. If this propaganda against Czechoslovakia was in March largely directed against Blum and Paul-Boncour, his Foreign Minister, it now no longer had any direct bearing on the French internal situation; the Daladier government was now in office, and M. Bonnet, well liked by the right, was Foreign Minister. Actually, M. Bonnet, as soon as he came into office, assured Osuski, the Czech Minister in Paris, of France's loyalty to the Franco-Czech alliance and was much annoyed by the Barthélemy article, which had been reproduced under huge headlines in all the German papers. The joke had gone too far. The *Temps* itself (I believe at Bonnet's request) published a *démenti* of Barthélemy's views.

In spite of the desperate defeatist campaign of the extreme right, French public opinion as a whole felt that Czechoslovakia could not be abandoned. It was this spirit among the French people, a spirit which had, if anything, been stimulated by the anti-Czech press campaign —a curious example of the effect of suspect propaganda on an intelligent people—which encouraged the Daladier government to take a strong stand during the days that preceded May 21. But for this Jacobin instinct of national self-preservation among the French people the prophets of defeatism might have got away with it. And but for this conviction that France would march Mr. Chamberlain might have gone on saying, "We must not try to delude small weak nations into thinking that they will be protected." Today everybody in France hopes for a peaceful settlement between Germany and Czechoslovakia; the difference is between those who want "a settlement under which Czechoslovakia may go on living," and those who want a settlement "at any price; it doesn't matter if Czechoslovakia disappears gradually—so long as we don't have a war now." That was rather the line taken by the London *Times* in a leader last week; one wondered whether it reflected a weakening in the attitude of the British government. At any rate, the French government remains firm; before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber last week Bonnet said: "It is important that the German minority should not be given rights out of all proportion to their numerical importance."

Of course there remains the strategic obstacle—the Rhineland fortifications. Concerning this a leading French military authority has written: "Has there ever been a war in which at least one of the sides did not claim to have impregnable fortresses? The primary consideration in war is the war itself, in all its innumerable aspects, and not this or that fortress. No doubt our apathy on March 7, 1936, was a colossal blunder; but we can't consent to become a third-class power because of one blunder."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Columnists on Parade

VIII. DOROTHY THOMPSON

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

DOROTHY THOMPSON is that combination of small-town girl who makes good and woman of the world which is peculiarly American. She has gone far in terms of prestige, income, and experience. Yet there is something tentative about her worldliness, something of the national adolescence about her maturity. She has the self-assertiveness of success, yet her rise has been so quick and telescopic that her very success may well induce a sense of insecurity. Or so it seems. In her most eloquent columns there is a large element of self-conscious showmanship, a straining for effect that often degenerates into exhibitionism. It points to a basic sense of inadequacy which is at once generic to this age of confusion and specific to the character and development of the first woman ever invited to address the New York Union League Club. In so far as it takes the form of humility it can be the beginning of wisdom. But humility is today at the bottom of the pile, as far as Miss Thompson is concerned—and she is industriously building up the pile.

Dorothy Thompson was born in Lancaster, near Syracuse, New York, in 1894, the daughter of an English Methodist clergyman. She was educated at the Lewis Institute in Chicago and at Syracuse University. At Syracuse she became active in the feminist movement in her college days. Her history suggests a bright, practical, vigorous American girl, eager for experience, accepting the necessity for earning a living as if it were a pleasant adventure, and full of high expectancy. She had planned to teach, but when the opportunity came she had a job with the woman's suffrage movement. From 1917 to 1920, according to "Who's Who," she was engaged in social work. After the war she went to Europe, which turned out to be her land of opportunity. Through a combination of luck and her own enterprise she hung up several journalistic scoops and ended by becoming the first woman bureau chief for an American newspaper in Europe. Meanwhile she grew up, and the prevailing influences of post-war Europe—disillusion, excitement, and instability—played over both her character and her career. She was a journalist at large in a world cut loose from all its moorings. Her fresh American intelligence and her charm, plus plain hard work, opened every door. She met everybody, officiated at revolutions, and achieved a salon in Vienna and Berlin. We may be sure that the impressionable young lady from Syracuse learned something from everyone she met and turned it to account.

Her final European triumph was her marriage to Sinclair Lewis in 1928, shortly before her return to America. She brought out of Europe a deep hatred of fascism (she was later expelled from Germany by the Nazi government) and the one positive, disinterested, and passionate conviction that emerges in the public performances of the leading lady of American journalism. This is her attitude on the Jewish question, which carries over to the issue of political persecution and freedom of speech in general. Her belief in civil liberties, which springs from a blend of Syracuse and Berlin, is genuine, and she has performed an important service by her campaign against fascism and in behalf of its victims, which, particularly as it has touched upon the Jewish phase, has undoubtedly brought protests from her reactionary audience. But she has put this genuine belief to factitious uses.

Miss Thompson became a columnist in March, 1936. In less than two years she had built up a clientele of 140 newspapers having a circulation of 7,500,000. She broadcasts regularly and is much in demand as a speaker. She writes for the *Ladies' Home Journal,* where her comment, designed for women, points up the phenomenon of a woman who is not imprisoned on the women's page. Her income must be close to $100,000. Her writing is vigorous and her appeal is wide. Her style is gusty and fresh. Each column reads like a tour de force. Where Lippmann soothes and is soothed, Thompson excites and is excited. Outrage is her favorite mood. In her triweekly columns of the five months from January to May (she is now on vacation) can be read the present character and preoccupations of the girl from Syracuse.

She is the most interesting and dramatic personality among the columnists. And the reasons lie not only in her natural vitality, her capacity for excitement, and her journalistic talent, but in the sense of conflict which shows through her highly volatile expression. Her columns are more or less evenly divided between foreign and domestic subjects—and her comment on foreign affairs is much the superior. She has written some excellent columns, both analytical and hortatory, on the folly of British foreign policy. Against the insolence and brutality of fascism she has carried on an unremitting campaign. On the issue of Austria and Czechoslovakia she is eloquent and for the most part realistic, though some of her writing on Austria in particular has been characterized by that hysteria into which she is often

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

betrayed and which seems to be a compensation for some profound self-doubt. She became very sentimental about Schuschnigg, though she knew that it was Schuschnigg's "greatest friend" Dollfuss who scattered by dissolution and massacre the working-class forces which might have saved Austria. And in a preface to Schuschnigg's book she worked herself up to the bad taste of saying that she, Dorothy Thompson, would have died for Austria. In a curious column called Christianity's Crisis she wrote as follows: "The issue in the Germanic world, precipitated by the events in Austria, is not even in the first line the issue of Austrian independence. It is whether the Germanic world is to be Christian or pagan. . . ." Yet Cardinal Innitzer, Schuschnigg's boss and high priest of Austria's Christianity, was the first to hail Hitler when the blow fell.

Despite these excesses, and in part because of them, if Miss Thompson were to be judged on the basis of her comments on foreign affairs, she would be set down as a liberal of good-will who sees the totalitarian flood advancing over Europe and wishes to stop its course. But in relation to her comments on the American scene her columns on Europe appear in a different light. For in this country she uses her thoroughly admirable attitude toward European fascism as a weapon against the New Deal in such a way as to make her the supporter of those forces and personalities that are most likely to fashion and pay for American fascism if and when it comes.

Miss Thompson's thesis, as far as the New Deal is concerned, is that it is not only potentially fascist but has already entered the first phase. "I wish for us all, for the New Year," she wrote on January 3, "a Congress that is no longer willing to be a Nazi Reichstag." This is a foolish statement of her most fruitful preoccupation, the analogy between fascist and prefascist Germany, which is the one subject on which she is thoroughly educated by experience, and the United States, about which she cannot possibly be as well informed, if only because of her protracted absence during crucial years. Given the alarmist tendencies of her emotional nature, her German and Austrian experience has been the matrix of a large part of her public expression since she returned to America. According to common supposition it produced, indirectly, Sinclair Lewis's picture of an American fascism in "It Can't Happen Here." Directly it has given rise to her campaign against European fascism—and to her attack on the New Deal. But whereas the first has the backing of a genuinely disinterested conviction, and direct knowledge, the second wears the marks of a rationalization dictated by another genuine impulse, that of ambition, which is a dominating element in her character and which is anything but disinterested. An editor I once worked for was a vociferous liberal on issues outside his own state. The very extravagance of Miss Thompson's outbursts against European fascism suggests that they may be a form of compensation for her reactionary columns on American issues, and the hysteria of her attack on the New Deal reinforces the impression. Certain other elements enter in. Miss Thompson's thinking is uncreative, her social understanding is largely information gathered by an extraordinarily absorbent mind through years of association with social problems as they were reflected in the journalistic mind of a disintegrating Europe. These limitations, and her ambition, have combined to drive her into an attitude, at home, that makes her the delight of reactionaries and the prisoner of a brain trust which her position and her personality attract.

Miss Thompson's attitude seems to rest also on an assumption that is both plausible and appealing and has provided an escape for many a tired, or ambitious, intellectual. Stated simply it is that communism is as bad as fascism—look at Russia. Therefore we must fight both. The eagerness with which some of our leading minds have clutched at the assumption that the Russian version of socialism has exhausted and discredited the Marxian conception reveals more about the nature of leading minds than about the nature of socialism. Moreover, capitalist democracy has taken on a disproportionate prestige as the be-all and end-all of a large section of left opinion of all shades, including the American Communist Party. With the totalitarian regimes before us, we can all agree that capitalist democracy is worth preserving. The trouble is that it is not static and that although Marxian politics have come a cropper the economic prosperity of capitalism which sets the limits of its democracy is steadily degenerating in the way that Marx foresaw. The great problem of the times is to work out a technique for translating capitalist democracy into social democracy without sacrificing individual liberty. Miss Thompson's solution is to eliminate the proletariat. She also advocates, like Lippmann, the return to "first principles," and becomes, like him, irrelevant except as an apologist for the status quo and a gadfly to the New Deal. In this role she takes one outrage flight after another while thousands look aloft. She is much too clever, and has too many left associations from her European days, to indulge in red-baiting —she is eager indeed to prove that the New Deal has nothing to do with socialism. It is one concession she has not made to the career she has chosen; in any case she is genuinely anti-fascist, and she also has sense enough to know that fascism is a far more likely possibility, given the world as it is, than socialism. Thus, where Mark Sullivan sees a red bogy Dorothy Thompson sees a fascist menace—but her specific objections to the New Deal are essentially the same. In fact, Miss Thompson in her own right comes close to being that type of old-fashioned American conservative who really believes in free speech as a form of individual enterprise and, on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the theory that it can do no harm, that "crazy ideas" are best exposed to the salutary effect of the open air. But she is also an up-to-date modern woman who has lived abroad, and her views are stated in terms reminiscent of prevailing social theories and shot through with knowing references to prevailing patterns of social thought. It is her mode of expression which makes her impressive —not least to herself. It is her basic conservatism that clinches her popularity with bankers and editors.

The germs of fascism, as well as the seeds of socialism, exist in any capitalist economy forced irresistibly toward collectivism. The New Deal, according to Miss Thompson, is cultivating the fascist germs, and she sees everywhere spectacular and premature growths. This allows her to make use of her German experience and to criticize the New Deal as one of the last embattled liberals. Around the first of the year, when Robert H. Jackson and Harold Ickes were making their famous speeches, Miss Thompson went on one of her emotional sprees. Mr. Jackson reminded her of Dr. Goebbels. The very process of thinking, she said, "is bludgeoned by this Administration." She painted an alarming picture of New Deal objectives, reminiscent of Dr. Johnson (Hugh S.).

> We are to maintain private ownership but have government control. We are to seek a balanced and expanding economy by contractual cooperation between government and agriculture, with penalties for non-cooperation, which is the sense of the farm bills which have just passed both houses. We are then to extend this AAA system to industry and set up a coordinated industry-labor-government mechanism with industry operating under contracts between themselves and government; and we are to have acquiescent courts. And if this is not fascism, then I am deaf, dumb, and blind.

This indeed is a characteristic Thompson paragraph, and it contains the pattern of her typical column against the New Deal. She begins soberly enough; she gradually becomes intoxicated with her own spirits; and she ends with D. T.'s.

A high moral tone and a demand for an expert diagnosis of our economic ills to be followed by the proper cure are the recurrent themes of the Thompson concerto. Into the bass she works a mass of expert statistics, facts, and assumptions supplied by her brain trust, which includes Winthrop Aldrich and Alexander Sachs, to show that the economic situation is bad and that the New Deal is confused. The treble is made up of cadenzas of her own improvisation. Sometimes the disharmony is glaring. In one of her treble, "clever" and personal "Grouse" columns she wrote as follows:

> There is nothing to fear, except the persistent refusal to try to find out the truth. The persistent refusal to analyze the causes of happenings. The persistent argument *ad hominem*—the scapegoat theme.

But in the next sentence she was having a go at the scapegoat theme herself: "If business is rotten because of fear of the government . . ."—though a few days later in the bass she listed "at least twelve" reasons why "business is rotten" culled from the findings of the learned societies meeting at the time. She is all for calm analysis, but one of her arguments against Hague's dictatorship is that he is setting a pattern which, "if I know the dominant C. I. O. psychology at present, they will follow" if Jersey City should ever have a labor government. "I happen," she writes, "to dislike intensely 'liberal' fascists, reactionary fascists, labor fascists, industrial fascists, Catholic fascists, and personal fascists."

"You don't have to choose between them . . ." she ended on high high C, "you can always die first."

Miss Thompson is always choosing, with a great dramatic gesture, between good and evil and in the name of freedom. She is always dealing in ultimate truths—and coming out on the side of immediate reaction. Even Walter Lippmann failed to find in the reorganization bill that attempt to extend the personal power of the President which is one of his obsessions. But Miss Thompson's slogan was "This bill must not pass;" and she summoned all her resources of emotion, along with references to German fascism and the Greek city-state, in the fight against it. It was a good show. But it is just such good shows that cast most doubt on the motives of our self-appointed anti-fascist Joan of Arc. The New Deal is wallowing in confusion, both as a result of its historical predicament and because of political and economic factors peculiar to America. Certainly, as Miss Thompson says, we must face reality and not substitute slogans for thought, or agitation for deliberation. But she violates her own stated principles with an irresponsibility all the greater for being decked out in statements of principle. To fight the New Deal as if it were communist is vicious. To fight it as if it were fascist is also vicious, and even more confusing because it is a more subtle and intellectually less discredited approach. Both attacks are based on a failure to face reality. Both are capable of arousing in that middle class about which Miss Thompson professes to be so worried a vigilante spirit which can be bought by the highest bidder. When on top of this she reproaches the New Deal for not eliminating the proletariat, when she propounds the simple fallacy that the European despotisms have "logically grown" out of the European social democracies, she not only does not resolve confusion; she exploits it.

The threat of fascism lies not in the New Deal as such but in its probable failure to carry out its program, to adopt those measures necessary to achieve economic equity and administrative efficiency. It contains its own self-defeating elements—*vide* the reactionary section of the Democratic Party, which in turn accounts for much of the New Deal's dangerous political opportunism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about which Miss Thompson is so eloquent. It is precisely this section, combined with Republican reaction and the Dorothy Thompsons who speak for it, that provides the often effective resistance to the necessary measures. Meanwhile by such columns as that of May 11 Miss Thompson helps to draw out the worst type of reactionary sentiment. Under the title, The Right to Insecurity, she informed the government that though as employer she was willing to conform, she personally was not interested in having her old age provided for.

> I was brought up to believe [she wrote with incredible arrogance and irresponsibility] that there's only one thing absolutely certain in life and that is that one eventually dies. Never having had the slightest feeling of security, it's a luxury that I do not miss. I prefer exhilaration to certainty, risk to dulness, danger to boredom, work to a job, and independence to a pension.

Unemployed and unemployables please copy.

Journalists exploit confusion and are exploited by it. Some rise above it. Others, after thorough conditioning, come to live in it as in a natural element, especially since it is one ocean from which gold can be extracted. Dorothy Thompson dived into it early and with a will; and at the age of forty-four she has reached a safe and well-appointed inland sea. That she continues to flail so violently would seem to indicate either that she is still afraid of sinking or that her intelligence and her conscience are urging her to higher, drier ground. If so, the sight of Walter Lippmann floating unresistingly in the same admirably tempered waters can offer no comfort.

In the Wind

REPORTS FROM Cuba are carefully guarded, and American newspapers recently missed a significant story there. On May 20—Cuba's Independence Day—the government awarded its annual Orders of Merit. Ten foreigners received them. Five were prominent German Nazis, including von Ribbentrop, von Bülow-Schwante, and three officials of Berlin's Iberian-American Institute.

IN THE government trial of the Aluminum Company of America the prosecution had planned to call Robert J. Anderson, former manager of the Fairmont Aluminum Company, as a key witness. His company had been squeezed out of business by the aluminum trust; his testimony was considered highly valuable because he was one of the few experts in the business not on the pay roll of the Aluminum Company of America. Anderson was ready to testify that if the price of aluminum were reduced five cents a pound, the market would increase fivefold. Shortly before the trial began the government learned that Anderson had been added to the pay roll of the Aluminum Company of America, and it decided accordingly to dispense with his testimony. It also learned that George H. Haskell, another victim of the trust's operation, who was to be the government's star witness—as well as Haskell's two lawyers—had been similarly hired by the Aluminum Company. Haskell has been called to the stand anyway; his testimony in a personal suit against the company several years back is still on the record.

CROSS-COUNTRY: Wide fanfare has surrounded the formation of the "National Rededication Society," designed to "revitalize democracy"; but its assistant director has stated publicly that the society is not interested in Jersey City. . . . A recent column by Jay Franklin in which he denounced the "economic immorality" of the rubber companies for moving out of Akron was banned by the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. . . . There are authoritative reports that Frederick T. Birchall was the author of the New York *Times's* famous unsigned Paris story on the Nazi terror in Vienna. . . . Victoria Booth Demarest, granddaughter of the founders of the Salvation Army, recently admonished the D. A. R. against anti-Semitism, "even if communism has originated in Jewish minds, even if it is secretly backed by international Jewry." . . . Several pro-New Deal Washington correspondents of Scripps-Howard papers have left their posts—some were fired, some resigned, some are now covering regional news. . . . President Roosevelt urged a delegation of peace leaders who protested against the naval budget to try their influence on Hitler. . . . Because six clenched fists (the revolutionary salute) appeared in WPA murals done for Swarthmore College, the college closed the room in which they appeared; after public protest authorities showed the murals—with three of the six fists removed.

AROUND-THE-WORLD: Although the story has been played down, French *Cagoulards* are rearming feverishly; Hans Lüthi, Swiss armament man, is the intermediary between the *Cagoulards* and the source of arms—which is Germany. . . . Tokyo newspapers have featured a report of a sensational off-the-record Cliveden gathering where, according to these dispatches, Mr. Chamberlain said it would be just as well if Czechoslovakia went off the map. . . . A Burgos journal recently announced that "Messrs. Hull and Roosevelt are proof of the absurdity of democracy."

THIS IS Europe's current *mot:*

"Que font les canons?"

"Des détonations (des dettes aux nations)."

SHORTLY BEFORE his appointment to the Supreme Court, Justice—then Senator—Black went to a party where the guests all played a question game. To the question, "Whom do you consider the greatest man living?" Black's reply was "Justice Brandeis." (His wife voted the same.) To the question, "Has any human being the intelligence to fix fairly for all parties the price of a single pair of shoes? (a question designed to cast doubt on the validity of economic planning) Black replied, "No, not even a merchant."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

ONE sentence in the *Nautical Gazette's* description of the Nieuw Amsterdam, the new ship of the Holland-America Line, has caught my attention: "The new flagship which was to be built and operated without government subsidy or mail contract demanded the utmost in efficient design and building." A couple of decades ago no one would have thought of inserting a sentence like that in any description of new liners. Whatever their flags, they were with rare exceptions built by men who stood on their own feet and neither desired nor expected government aid, direct or indirect—bounties or low-interest-bearing loans or other governmental favors. Today in the largest countries of the world the shipping industry has become an annex of the government and is sustained out of the general funds of the nation. Only the small nations, like Holland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, seem to be able to keep their ships on the ocean at a profit, while Finland can even make money out of sailing vessels. I believe that the Norwegian steamer Oslofjord, which has also just completed her maiden trip, was constructed without any government aid.

We Americans used to pride ourselves upon the fact that our merchant marine paid its own way. It might be small, but it was not supported by the taxpayers. Indeed, we recalled that every time our government had launched into subsidies grave scandals had resulted. Today the whole situation has changed. Our transoceanic lines live only because of government aid, and even the owners of our coastwise lines are demanding subsidies despite the fact that they operate in a protected trade into which foreign competition may not enter under our laws. Three of our finest ships have just been retired by their lessors from the New York-San Francisco Line because they can no longer pay for themselves. The government not only stands ready to lend large sums of money for long terms at a very low rate of interest for the construction of ships, but grants liberal subsidies for their operation and even construction subsidies in addition to construction credits. What is more, there is not the slightest expectation that the great new fleet of merchant vessels we are about to build will ever be self-supporting.

We have thus deliberately embarked upon the national policy of keeping alive a huge business which cannot pay its own way and is not created because of any direct economic demand for the services to be rendered. Now this principle when applied by the government to helping farmers and publicly owned utility enterprises is widely denounced by business men as a most dangerous departure from historic policy and sound economics. In the shipping field it *is* putting the government into private business with a vengeance. Practically the government builds and owns the ships, or owns the mortgages upon them, and it may be compelled at any time to take them back—as it has just done in the case of the Pennsylvania and her consorts of the California trade—if it should appear that the operators, even with government aid, cannot make both ends meet and pay interest on the government's loans. I marvel that our chambers of commerce and merchants' associations are not up in arms against this governmental interference with private business. Your big business man, however, is always ready to accept a government subsidy; that is never improper interference with a man's private business.

The real reason for this radical change in our American policy has now been clearly stated by Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, the chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, which is to spend $1,250,000,000 in the next few years to rehabilitate the merchant marine. The government's primary interest, he says, is the national defense, the navy's experts having declared that the navy alone will need 500 merchant auxiliary vessels in the next ten years. It is another striking instance of the militarization of the United States that the problem of the merchant marine is no longer settled by business considerations, by the actual mercantile and trade needs of the United States, but by what unnamed experts in the Navy Department declare to be our requirements. Admiral Land insists that our trouble is that our "slow and aging vessels" must compete with "foreign, fast, modern ships which can be operated cheaply and more efficiently." But when our present ships were new we were not competing successfully! To keep the proposed new vessels afloat the Treasury will have to pour out huge sums, and merely for the sake of a naval auxiliary fleet. It would be cheaper to build the 500 ships for the navy and then lay them up until they are needed, instead of operating them on trade routes where they are mostly not needed and come into competition with the ships of other governments similarly subventioned. If this policy is to persist, I am for government ownership and operation; it could not be more wasteful, and would certainly be more satisfactory and freer from scandal in the long run.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THOMAS MANN'S DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO

BY MAX LERNER

THOMAS MANN'S little book* is the sharpest and noblest political utterance that has come out of exiled Germany. In form an expansion of a lecture delivered to American audiences from coast to coast, it is actually a manifesto composed on the battlefields of the human spirit, and addressed to the young in all countries who will decide the outcome.

Put briefly, the book calls for a democratic renaissance that will end the fascist adventure. Thomas Mann is a traditionalist—he calls himself a conservative—who has in the past thought of his own artistic task as distinct from that of the "political man," introducing in his thought a distinction where life itself admits of none. It took the obscene clangor of fascism to awaken him from his dream of the past, and to close the breach between the political and the artistic man. The awakening has evoked in Mann a wholeness, a moral clarity, a power that he never showed before. He has become a political thinker without ceasing to be an artist; he has become a democrat without ceasing to be a traditionalist.

Because of his biography, he does not fall into the cruder Marxian habit of regarding fascism wholly as a weapon that the capitalists wield and control. Nor does he fall into the cruder liberal habit of regarding it wholly as a perverse lapse from the divine grace of civil liberties. He sees fascism for what it is—a desperate revolt against the implications of the democratic principle, using the rhetoric of anti-bolshevism to attract and then enslave the capitalists, the rhetoric of socialism to attract and then enslave the masses, the rhetoric of nationalism to gloss over its own disunities and its cultural barbarism. He sees this as a realist. But he sees farther. He sees the cowardice of fascism, its sadism, its tinsel glories, its gaudy external symbols, its negation of culture and of the human spirit itself.

But how meet this barbaric force? Not, says Mann, by denying its relevance to our own destiny, not by creeping into our shells, not by isolationism. Nor yet by admitting the paralysis of democracy, by defeatism. The answer lies in understanding the nature and strength of democracy, in acting in accordance with that nature and to the full measure of that strength. It is a youthful and militant democracy that Mann calls for—not the insipid textbook concept, but the living creed of grown men and women conscious of the stakes of the conflict, determined to save the world of their values, and willing to risk what is already doomed unless they risk it. And here we must distinguish Mann's attitude from some of the attitudes toward democracy current in America today. There are, first, the liberals, who see in democracy only capitalist survival, the doctrine of free markets bolstered by a passive adherence to the shibboleths of civil liberties. There are, secondly, the fragments of doctrinaire revolutionists, who will have nothing to do with democracy unless they can conscript it to the uses of an impossible leftism. And there are, finally, the progressives of the past, who, having lost their belief in the forces of labor, think to vanquish fascism by borrowing some of the irrationalisms, the symbols and economic procedures, of fascism in the cause of national survival. It is part of Mann's deepest wisdom to understand that the democracies must call on their own inner strength, by the socialization of industry and the socialism of the human spirit which the rule of an informed majority implies. Above all, there must be an interplay of rationalism and realism. Mann quotes a sentence from Bergson which may well become the fighting slogan of our era: "Act as men of thought, think as men of action."

Because it is a statement of faith and not an analysis of trend, Mann's book is not without its weaknesses. He is too prone to see both democracy and fascism in terms of universals, which is the disease of the philosopher and artist, rather than in terms of change and movement, which is the disease of the historian. Of the two, I find the second today preferable. Seeing democracy as a universal, Mann tends to blur it with liberalism, and nothing today is more important than to understand that while the democrat must include liberalism in the scope of his thought, the liberal does not include democracy. And nowhere does Mann do more than hint at some of the central problems of political power that are involved in the survival and triumph of democracy—the problem of majorities and minorities in a transitional state, the obstructions against socialization that come from the vested interests of capitalist property and thought, the tyranny over opinion exercised by our oligarchies, the relentless struggle the ruling class will wage before it will yield its power.

But even without this, Mann has given us enough. He is a hero of our time; for in a democratic era heroism consists not in the individual exploit, but in bringing to con-

* "The Coming Victory of Democracy." Alfred A. Knopf. $1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Truth is Stranger than the Gossip

D'ANNUNZIO

Poet – Soldier – Patriot – Lover

The intimate biography written by Tom. Antongini, for thirty years his friend and secretary.

"I would never have believed there was any such zoölogical specimen as Gabriele D'Annunzio . . . The giant panda or Gargantua the Great or even the phoenix is more credible than this fantastic biped."
—*Burton Rascoe*

"Mr. Antongini tells dozens of revealing stories, most of them no doubt authentic, about one of the most colorful and unpredictable figures of our time."
—*Ralph Thompson in N. Y. Times*

583 pages. Illustrated. $5.00

The new book by

Ogden Nash

"Mr. Nash on anything is as funny an essayist in verse as G. K. Chesterton in prose, or Mark Twain, or Saki, or P. G. Wodehouse." — *N. Y. Times Book Review.*

I'M A STRANGER HERE MYSELF

$2.00

Another 5000 Goes to Press as

Phyllis Bottome's

THE MORTAL STORM

becomes

The Novel in the News

THE NOVEL ABOUT DICTATORSHIP

33rd Thousand

$2.50

The Pulitzer Prize Novel

THE LATE GEORGE APLEY

A Novel in the Form of a Memoir

By John P. Marquand

"Nothing less than delicious... As a picture of a time, a place and a way of life, this satire has few equals."—Sterling North in the Chicago Daily News.

$2.50 45th Thousand

From the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

An Open Letter to Louise V. Armstrong

(An author whom I do not know, but whose book* I greatly respect.)

DEAR MRS. ARMSTRONG:

I wish that the blustering, purple-faced, somewhat comic characters who go about showing their complete ignorance of conditions in America by damning all relief efforts could be taught to read, so that they could read your book.

I wish they could meet the children you know who have never tasted butter, the gentle men and women who furnish the "plaintive andante movement of our human symphony," the desperate mothers, the big bewildered sons of Paul Bunyan left stranded by the lumber kings after those rugged individualists stripped North America of her timber and left desolate wastes of stumps and sand behind them.

Your story of three years as administrator of the Emergency Relief Administration in a town of 7,000 in northern Michigan carries complete conviction.

* * *

If we were a nation of such thumping patriots as we pretend to be we would have been helping you, not hindering you, in your battle to save lives, sanity and something like decency among the desolate legions of the submerged.

If we were such strictly logical, utterly rational pragmatists as we pretend to be we would have gone out and seen with our own eyes what was happening, why your girls were being driven into prostitution, why your efforts to feed the unemployed were heckled by the well-fed, solid citizens of your own little corner of hell.

* * *

I wish your book had continued for another million words. It is the first honest, human, intelligent report we have had on what actually happens at the relief offices and in the homes they aid. It is a terrifyingly real, witty and beautiful book, and one of the most significant of our era.

* * *

It is a book for which we should all be deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

STERLING NORTH

***WE TOO ARE THE PEOPLE** ($3.00)

LITTLE, BROWN & CO., PUBLISHERS, BOSTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sciousness and fruition the collective possibilities of human life. In my own mind I shall place this book next to a similar manifesto of an American humanist, Walt Whitman's "Democratic Vistas."

Explaining Shakespeare

I, WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, DO APPOINT THOMAS RUSSELL ESQUIRE. . . . By Leslie Hotson. Oxford University Press. $3.

SHAKESPEARE REDISCOVERED. By Clara Longworth de Chambrun. With a Preface by G. B. Harrison. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

SHAKESPEARE'S PHILOSOPHICAL PATTERNS. By Walter Clyde Curry. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. $2.75.

THE DEBT TO SHAKESPEARE IN THE BEAUMONT-AND-FLETCHER PLAYS. By Daniel Morley McKeithan. Austin, Texas: Texas Book Store.

IF THE Thomas Russell, Esquire, whom Shakespeare appointed overseer or executor of his will was a certain gentleman of Worcestershire, and Mr. Hotson has decided he was, then "it seems natural to suspect" that many of the poet's connections with patrons and other well-placed strangers had been secured through him. For Russell himself was well connected. His wife's sister married the brother of Henry Willoughby, author of "Willobie, His Avisa": a circumstance which "could provide an excellent opportunity" for associations between Shakespeare and Willoughby such as a few scholars have long wanted to authenticate. Furthermore, the channels of communication between Russell and the Earl of Southampton were such "that any of several natural means would have sufficed" for Russell to introduce the poet to his patron as early as 1593. Furthermore, "it is possible" that the Fluellen of "Henry V" was in part a portrait of Thomas Digges, the astronomer, whose widow Russell married; and that it was a portrait of Tycho Brahe in Digges's house—for there is "little doubt" that Digges had the portrait—whereon Shakespeare "perhaps" saw for the first time the names Ronsenkrans and Guldenstern. Furthermore, "it is far from impossible" that certain passages in "Macbeth" were written because Shakespeare was closer to some of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators than has been hitherto suspected; not that he was a conspirator, but he had known Catesby from his childhood, and Catesby had dined with Ben Jonson shortly before the powder was to have been touched off! Furthermore and finally, "what is more likely" than that on November 22, 1610, Russell brought Shakespeare into the presence of Sir Dudley Digges, who had a copy of Strachey's Virginia letter and probably showed it to the poet?

> And Shakespeare—with his brave notions and gentle expressions, who could make a better audience? He had been struck by certain features of the strange and romantic story when it first came out; and he finds this intimate account stirring him still more. Digges is glad to trust his discretion with the copy of Strachey's letter. It is not long before the poet's quick imagination has shaped and transformed something of what he has heard and read. . . .
>
> Why may we not take the afternoon of a poet with Sir Dudley Digges as the stimulus for some of "The Tempest's" mighty magic?

Why may we not? Because the whole argument up to this point has been a castle of cobwebs builded in moonshine, with perhapses and probablys for mortar and far-from-impossibilities for foundation stones. And because, even could we grant all the ifs, Mr. Hotson's highly sentimental research tells us nothing about "The Tempest" that explains its nature and its power; or about Shakespeare that distinguishes him from any other fellow with friends.

The Countess de Chambrun is more interesting, in spite of the suspicion that she too hunts for midnight mushrooms, because the theory which directs her search would be of the greatest importance if it could be fixed as fact. Her theory is that Shakespeare was a Catholic; or at any rate that his family had been; and that at the least he "was conversant, as only a person who has lived among Roman Catholics can be, with the form and expression of their faith." Her minor theses relating to the occasions for "A Lover's Complaint" and "The Phoenix and the Turtle," the identity of "Mr. W. H." as William Hervey, the exile of Shakespeare to Scotland where he "got" the atmosphere for "Macbeth," and the copy of Holinshed which he may have owned and annotated as he wrote his Histories, are insignificant in comparison with her chief contention, which if it could be accepted would tell us much about Shakespeare's mind that we could use. It would not of course explain a great many things about him as an artist, but it would throw light upon the medieval elements in his understanding and upon the immense advantage he may have reaped, even as an artist, from participating in the richest intellectual tradition available to any man of his time. The greatest poetry has, along with the greatest art, the greatest subject matter, and criticism is perhaps only now beginning to take that commonplace into account.

Mr. Curry, for example, brings his knowledge of medieval and Renaissance philosophy very profitably to bear upon "Macbeth" and "The Tempest." He does not finally explain them, nor does he pretend to; but he says more about them than most critics do because he talks about the ideas which made them possible—and the absence of which from the modern mind renders any such masterpieces absolutely impossible now. Mr. Curry's distinction between Macbeth as a man and as a dramatic personality is not only nice but profound. The man was the creation of a thousand years of European thought concerning essential human nature; the personality was the creation of Shakespeare. We admire the second as we admire few things ever made by an individual, and rightly; but this should not blind us to the even huger achievement of Shakespeare in building his hero on the highest of existing pedestals. To know that pedestal as well as he did was to be more than an all but perfect artist; it was also to be an intellect of substantial dimensions.

Mr. McKeithan's dissertation piles up the debt of Beaumont and Fletcher to Shakespeare until it can be no further doubted. It has never been denied, but the late A. H. Thorndike argued for some debt the other way, and for the priority of Beaumont and Fletcher in the type of "dramatic romance." The argument, still tenable, may seem less so henceforth.

MARK VAN DOREN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first BIG novel of the summer!

CONCORD IN JEOPARDY

By DORIS LESLIE

Author of
"FULL FLAVOUR"
"FAIR COMPANY" etc.

Painted on the tremendous canvas that Mrs. Leslie invariably devotes to her novels, this story of Alexander Concord, artist, and of the three women who influenced his artistic and material life, has been compared for its engrossing theme and solid content to May Sinclair's "The Divine Fire." $2.50

A complete antidote to every type of 'ism'.

OUR COUNTRY, OUR PEOPLE, AND THEIRS

By M. E. TRACY

"Anyone who wishes to make a choice will find the necessary material here. . . . His facts and diagrams are both interesting and enlightening." — Herschel Brickell. $1.75

The most fascinating biography of the year!

FANNY KEMBLE

A PASSIONATE VICTORIAN

BY

MARGARET ARMSTRONG

"With gayety, charm and wisdom, she has achieved the happiest *timbre* in biography."—Christopher Morley. $3.00

(Out June 28)

BRITAIN AND THE DICTATORS

By R. W. SETON-WATSON

"He has done a great service in compressing his unique knowledge into this most timely, outspoken and scholarly volume."—Sir Alfred Zimmern. $3.50

DARE WE LOOK AHEAD?

A symposium by Bertrand Russell, Herbert Morrison, Vernon Bartlett, G. D. H. Cole, Sir Stafford Cripps, and Harold J. Laski on the state of the world and the prospects for the future. $2.00

JAPAN IN CHINA

By T. A. BISSON

"An extraordinary book . . . beyond doubt the soundest and most scholarly volume that has yet appeared on the subject."—*New York Times.* $3.00

At all good bookstores

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK CITY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Out of Georgia

SOUTHWAYS. By Erskine Caldwell. The Viking Press. $2.50.

BY COMPARISON with the number of novels published in a year, volumes of short stories are few and far between. Volumes of good short stories are fewer and farther. The great bulk of short stories appear in magazines; they are ephemeral, inconsiderable, written, one sometimes suspects, without conscience; obviously written without art. Once in a while a Ring Lardner comes along, a writer who appeals to a wide public and at the same time gains the highest sort of critical approval. Lardner's baseball stories appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* and commanded an extremely high price. Mr. Caldwell has not yet reached these heights. But if Lardner wrote "Alibi Ike" and "You Know Me, Al," he also wrote "The Champ" and "Some Like Them Cold," too grimly satirical, perhaps, for the popular taste. And Mr. Caldwell's compact and cruel stories of the South deserve to be compared with them.

It would be interesting and instructive to analyze one of the stories in "Southways" to see exactly how a good short-story writer achieves his effects. The first story is less than twelve pages long. It is about a Southern landowner who wants to marry the daughter of one of his tenants; but the girl will not have him. That is all there is to it, yet Mr. Caldwell in a few pages manages to say so much more than merely that. He says, for one thing, that the South is poor, not poor with a genteel, pretty poverty, but poor in every sense: the land is poor, the only crop is cotton, the houses—even of the gentry—are without paint, weeds crowd up to the front doors; the tenants have one garment to their backs and without surprise or complaint make a meal of bread and molasses; the landowners, if they have enough to eat and to wear, are poor in spirit and in character. There is a kind of dour democracy between master and tenant which arises out of a mutual desperation, and expresses itself sometimes in wry humor. Daisy, when Governor Gil—he was governor of his state for a term many years before—commands her to come up to the big house to go to bed, has only one comment to make. She says: "You damned old fool." When her father hears from the Negro houseboy that she has bitten and scratched her elderly suitor, he laughs until he falls off his chair. Mr. Caldwell does not describe the eyes or hair or height of his characters. He merely says that Governor Gil habitually strikes off the heads of weeds with his stick—except the weeds around his own front door. He makes Daisy known to his readers by having her father say: "Just about all she's got to her name is that little slimsy gingham jumper she's wearing." He illuminates the gulf between Negro and white by having the Negro houseboy say to the poor tenant: "Mr. Walter, Governor said to tell you if you ever raise another hellcat like Miss Daisy, he'll chop your head off. Now, Mr. Walter, I didn't say it! Please, sir, don't think I said it! . . . You know I wouldn't say that myself, don't you, Mr. Walter?"

In the space of eleven and a half pages, in short, a culture is revealed, a land is described by indirection, a situation is created, suspense follows, and the resolution is at last snapped off. A good deal to have done in a short space, and only the greatly skilled can do it. The other stories in the volume are almost all equally skilful. They are laid in Mr. Caldwell's Georgia, which, if no other Georgian would acknowledge it, has as much reality as Gulliver's Lilliput. It exists in Mr. Caldwell's mind, and he projects it into the mind of the reader. It has length and breadth, heat and cold, squalor, cold jest, and contention. There is no crepe myrtle blooming around the dooryards in this book, but its men and women are real. A great many readers will be grateful for them.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

Austrian Newsreel

THE LAST FIVE HOURS OF AUSTRIA. By Eugene Lennhoff. With an Introduction by Paul Frischauer. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.50.

IN THIS book the former editor of the Vienna *Telegraf*, an anti-Hitler daily more or less in accord with and serving Schuschnigg's policy, describes his last day in office, March 11, 1938, which became also the last day of the historical fiction "independent Austria." As an able reporter he gives as profound a picture as a quick and trained glance at reality can catch. He sees with his own eyes and the hundred more of his staff. His intimate knowledge of locale and personnel allows him access to the news when it breaks and often before. He is in the chancellery in the hour of Hitler's ultimatum. He speaks with Mussolini's agent in Vienna—whose chief cannot be reached by the despairing chancellor; he is with Austria's chief of propaganda at the moment when Schuschnigg's broken voice orders him to broadcast the postponement of the plebiscite. In the street the Viennese were still shouting, "Red-white-red, until we're dead."

On the morning of March 11 "the majority of the people were more hopeful than they had been for a long time." The preparations for the plebiscite scheduled for two days later—Sunday, March 13—were in full swing. The author presents a thousand incidents as they occurred around him from minute to minute between the bright morning and the night which finds him in exile. He takes unforgettable close-ups: officers who want to fight, the Nazi spy on the Stefansplatz, the old Jew who has to go to the temple and will pray the whole night (Sabbath begins and he is not allowed to enter a carriage, he cannot escape), the reporter who still reports to his chief when they are already on their flight to the frontier. The great political actions of the day come clearly through: the tactics of the Nazis, whose machine works to perfection; the betrayal of the workers, who are called upon to fight only to be let down and handed over to the Nazi revenge; the quick about-face of the "patriotic" jobholders; the silence of the Catholic church, which always marches with the stronger battalions. Quotations from a diary of the author, notes after the Berchtesgaden meeting between Hitler and Schuschnigg on February 12, fill in the background of the canvas. The result is a very exciting, very human, and very tragic document.

Paul Frischauer in his introduction attempts a short history of the Austrian republic, and retells an interesting conversation with Schuschnigg, "whose high moral qualities placed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him at a disadvantage in defending himself and his country against brutality." Once more: this is not true. Schuschnigg's moral qualities did not prevent him from organizing the bigotry of poor peasants against the truly cultivated Viennese workers and did not prevent him from hanging the heroic fighters for a really independent Austria in February, 1934. The truth is that the half-hearted fascist, however cultured, is no defender of liberty.

Special mention should be made of the diligence of the author, the translator, and the publisher, which made it possible for this book to appear twelve weeks after the day it describes.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Reviewing and Reviewing

THE UNEXTINGUISHED HEARTH. SHELLEY AND HIS CONTEMPORARY CRITICS. By Newman I. White. Duke University Press. $3.

IF TODAY a poet opposed to our society were to receive an average of ten long reviews a year and within seven years have his work appear in seventy-three of our most important periodicals, we should not consider him neglected. Mr. White, collecting (with but a very few unimportant exceptions) all articles about Shelley, proves abundantly that this "pard-like spirit" was not ignored. He suggests, moreover, an interesting comparison between nineteenth-century criticism and that of our own day. Shelley's poems appeared between 1816 and 1822, years of revolution anticipated.

> Labor's unrest due to the displacement of workers by machines was complicated by the demobilization. Commercial and agricultural depression, industrial overproduction, famine, and high taxation called loudly for overdue reforms . . . all this at a time when the Tory rulers of England were hand-in-glove with Continental rulers. . . . The increasing desperation of the working classes produced a really dangerous situation.

This quotation from Mr. White's introduction will sound familiar to readers of our daily press. Today, however, it is unlikely that a poet voicing radical ideas would be so widely and so hysterically reviewed as Shelley was. Perhaps this is because we know the dangers of advertising. Our conservative critics and most of the press ignore radical poets, removing them from front to back pages if they turn from the old themes of American individualism to propaganda for revolutionary ideas. Or again, the fact that we do not emphasize a poet's ideas may be because poetry today is not taken seriously as thought. Shelley's reviewers, regarding themselves as guardians of the status quo, advertised him as irreligious, immoral, and inflammatory. And early in his career, it seems, Shelley recognized the value of such publicity though he wearied of the attacks upon his character, which continued even after his death.

We have no revolutionary poet of Shelley's stature and passion. Auden, to take one modern socialist poet, is a far more urbane and less significant figure. Nor have we, in this century, the tradition of the poet as a man of affairs. The early nineteenth-century poets—because of the continuation of eighteenth-century conceptions of poetry as thought—were examined for their religious, moral, and political faith. The

Books for Live-Minded Readers

Seven Shifts
Edited by JACK COMMON

Seven laboring men, representing different industries and occupations, express themselves with racy rumor, engaging frankness, and a wealth of concrete detail concerning their jobs and the world in general. They all feel that the day is coming when working men will run their own factories—and none of them looks for outside assistance in bringing about this revolutionary change. ($2.50)

Co-operation or Coercion?
By L. P. JACKS

"No better short and convincing argument for organized international cooperation in order to remove the causes of war and to promote prosperity has appeared on either side of the Atlantic."—*Nicholas Murray Butler.* The argument of this book is based largely on the parallel of the American Constitution and the principles of Alexander Hamilton. ($2.00)

The National Faith of Japan
By D. C. HOLTOM

A study in modern Shinto: the first comprehensive study of this subject in English in more than a quarter of a century. It emphasizes the importance of the knowledge of Shinto in accurately understanding contemporary Japan. (Illustrated, $3.75)

Edison's Open Door
By ALFRED O. TATE

The life story of Thomas A. Edison, a great individualist, by his private secretary. The most personal story ever written about Edison, since only Mr. Tate knew most of the intimate facts which are here revealed. ($3.00)

Women in the Soviet East
(Coming August 8th)
By FANNINA W. HALLE

Here is the story, without propaganda, of history being made by the awakening women of the Russian East, where slavery, ignorance and prejudice have been cleared away for the progress of a vigorous new civilization. (77 Illustrations, $4.00)

For entertainment, we especially recommend "LUCKY-PENNY," brilliant new novel by the author of "Father Malachy's Miracle"—"STOREVIK," the new book by the author of "Northern Summer"—"DRY GUILLOTINE" and "FIFTY YEARS A COUNTRY DOCTOR," two national best-sellers, and "GOOSE FEATHERS," a delightful travel-adventure-autobiography.

May we send you a copy of our Summer Catalog, gratis?

E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY, INC.
300 Fourth Ave. New York, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

twentieth-century poet is treated as if he were conditioned entirely by his ivory-tower environment and knew nothing of practical affairs. This is stating it extremely. But it is a fact that a modern poet might explode many a bomb under critical noses that would not smell smoke or sense a threat. Nor is this entirely because our poets are obscure. As Mr. White proves by his collection, Shelley was to his reviewers quite as obscure as, let us say, Hart Crane is to Max Eastman. The reviewers made little out of Shelley's imagery, since it was not logical like Pope's, or of his more significant teachings, since they were expressed in symbols.

But the critics did know that Shelley called himself an atheist, was a man who had broken his marriage vows, and a poet who set himself up as a judge of the hollowness of middle-class values. "Mr. Shelley," writes one critic, "is one of those writers who seems gifted with a strong imagination and but little judgment; he is often inharmonious and much too obscure and intricate for the generality of his readers." As Mr. White notes, "The vast majority of reviewers in the early nineteenth century were as stubbornly unaware of the fact that theirs was the Romantic Age as the ancients were that they were ancients." A similar accusation might be brought against some, but not all, of our twentieth-century reviewers. The wholesale praise given—in some book-review sections—to second-rate and third-rate poets indicates chiefly that many reviewers still hold the Victorian ideal of poetry as pretty and polite phrasing. Good critics, of course, writing for the more discriminating journals, judge more accurately between verse which merely sounds poetic and verse which is poetry. These reviewers know the movements of twentieth-century literature.

Publishers in the eighteenth century were apparently able to buy reviewers and space in magazines. But in Shelley's lifetime this was less often possible. Politics rather than business controlled criticism. Mr. White's collection of reviews indicates that reviewers were conforming generally to the politics of the journal for which they wrote. Shelley, therefore, fared badly in Tory journals, better in Whig, best in Liberal. Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* was, as everyone knows, the official organ for liberal thought and for the romantic poets. Today we have a greater variety of liberal journals than were published in the nineteenth century and many of our better reviewers write for the liberal press. Now and again, as in Shelley's case, the truly radical press inclines, indeed, to praise poets of the same political complexion not wisely but too well. In times of stress reviewing, like everything else, is impure.

I have been using Mr. White's complete, well-edited, and carefully annotated collection of the Shelley reviews and notices as a springboard. Mr. White himself is a scholar, and although he draws comparisons between nineteenth- and twentieth-century political backgrounds, he is most intent on presenting scholarly and new evidence to prove that Shelley's idea that he was persecuted is in part fiction. Attacks there were, much mixed and confused praise, and some fine criticism of the poet's work. Shelley wrote in an era of changing critical opinion and suffered from the inability of critics to adjust themselves to new techniques and new ideas. But his contemporary critics were not so much blind to his genius as they were terrified of his ideas. EDA LOU WALTON

Strategy for Socialism

ON THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF SOCIALISM. By Oskar Lange and Fred M. Taylor. Edited and with an Introduction by Benjamin E. Lippincott. The University of Minnesota Press. $1.75.

IN THIS little book Mr. Lippincott has brought together in readily available form two of the most important contributions to the theory of economic planning that have yet been written. The first, entitled "The Guidance of Production in a Socialist State," was the presidential address delivered before the American Economic Association in 1928 by the late Professor Fred Taylor of Michigan. Professor Taylor's address seems to have been promptly forgotten by his fellow-economists, and its republication at a time when many of the ideas expressed in it are beginning to find their way into economic literature from other sources is an act of historical justice.

From the point of view of current controversy, however, there is no doubt that the much longer paper of Oskar Lange, from which the book takes its name, has first claim on the reader's attention. In my opinion Dr. Lange has produced the conclusive refutation of the anti-socialist arguments of Mises and his followers which have recently enjoyed a revival in English-speaking countries in the writings of such authorities on socialism as Walter Lippmann. I do not wish to enter into this controversy further than to say that I whole-heartedly agree with everything Lange has to say on the subject and to recommend a careful study of his arguments to all who are seriously interested in the problem.

The most important part of Lange's paper, I think, is that in which he discusses the economic problems which have to be solved if socialism is to be attained at all. Here new ground is broken and theoretical considerations of the greatest importance brought forward. Lange argues that the functioning of capitalism is necessarily disrupted by a serious threat to the foundations of the system itself. Capitalists cannot be expected to continue to produce unless they have reasonable assurance of stability in the basic property relationships on which all their calculations are based. It follows from this that *on economic grounds alone* a socialist party which really means to introduce socialism must be prepared to put through a very large measure of socialization as the first step after taking office. For otherwise the economic chaos which is sure to follow will weaken its position and force it either to renounce its socialist objective or to undertake the struggle against its enemies under the most unfavorable conditions. "Socialism," as Lange says, "is not an economic policy for the timid."

Does this mean that a socialist party should take no part in shaping governmental policies unless it is in a position to carry out a program of rapid socialization? The answer is no. To behave in this way in a period of capitalist disintegration would clearly be playing straight into the hands of reaction. Socialists should, on the contrary, take the lead in organizing mass support behind a policy of large-scale government spending, since at the present time this is the only policy which can save democratic institutions and thus keep the way clear for eventually winning the masses to a socialist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

position. If this policy is successfully carried through—and there is no reason why it should not be—socialists will gain enormously in prestige and popularity.

Lange might well have cited the example of the French Popular Front as a negative confirmation of his position. The Popular Front, though organized by Communists and Socialists, was never intended as a vehicle for the introduction of socialism; its purpose was to combat the allied enemies of depression and fascism. The timidity and at least temporary failure of the Popular Front can be traced directly to its stubborn adherence to bourgeois canons of "sound finance." A bold policy of public works coupled with devaluation of the franc and exchange control, which certainly could have been instituted by the Blum government in the first weeks after its accession to office, would have raised the national income and enormously strengthened the position of the socialist parties. The melancholy history of the last two years might well have been altogether different if this policy had been followed.

In this country, thanks to the New Deal, there is less attachment to the ruinous principles of "sound finance." Socialists ought to be the first to appreciate the great advantage which this gives them over their European colleagues. They have a lot of economics to learn from the experience of the last decade, and perhaps the greatest merit of Lange's article is that it helps to point the way to a true understanding of what has happened. PAUL M. SWEEZY

Mathematics and Logic

PRINCIPLES OF MATHEMATICS. By Bertrand Russell. W. W. Norton and Company. $6.

BETWEEN the time of Aristotle in the fourth century B. C. and Leibnitz in the seventeenth century, the science of logic underwent little development, expert opinion being that since it was already complete and perfect, nothing could be done to improve it. After many centuries of complacency and perfection, however, deductive logic began to develop and in the hands of such mathematicians as Boole, Frege, and Peano to become more general, rigorous, and formal. "Principles of Mathematics," first published in 1903, is one of the most important milestones in this progress of logic, and the new edition of the work with a brief introduction by the author explaining how his views have changed in the past thirty-five years will be welcomed by experts in the field, especially by those who for so many years have been unable to obtain the first edition.

The fundamental thesis of the book, that mathematics and logic are identical, though opposed today by two important camps of mathematicians, the formalists and the intuitionists, is still maintained by Mr. Russell. The formalism of Hilbert is so formal, he thinks, that it excludes the practical application of mathematics, while the intuitionism of Brouwer is so empirical that it disqualifies a good part of the science. Ruling out the unrestricted use of the law of excluded middle, the intuitionists are obliged to abandon important proofs, and thus to pour out the baby with the bath.

The introduction also contains an interesting discussion of the present status of the famous theory of types and othe-

A TRULY AMAZING BOOK
UNMASKS THE "MYSTERY"
BEHIND THE MESS IN
CONSCRIPT EUROPE
By Randolph Leigh

"What is going to happen in Europe?" Mystifying, tantalizing, that question is on the lips of everyone today. The amazing new book CONSCRIPT EUROPE enables YOU to answer that question, and it does it in the most novel way you can imagine. When you finish reading it you will experience one of the strangest sensations of your life—you will feel possessed of almost clairvoyant powers in foretelling the fate of Europe.

Why This Book is so Unusual

Heretofore, books on Europe have been concerned with personalities, on the fallacious assumption that Men shape Events. In CONSCRIPT EUROPE, an internationally recognized foreign observer proceeds on the true basis that Events shape the Men. He shows you not only the conditions that brought about the rise of the dictators, but—*and more important*—the conditions which changed the thinking of the various nationalities and made them the willing serfs of their new masters.

These are things which never get into newspapers because, according to current newspaper standards, they do not classify as "news." Their existence, however, will not down and they are the direct cause of every development in Europe. In the past two decades they have not changed, but have grown even more acute. Brought into focus by Mr. Leigh, they graphically portray Europe's inescapable destiny.

At Last! A Book That Really Gets at the Roots of these Enigmas

WHY ENGLAND FEARS TO ACT. Demonstrates the true forces that govern England and reveals that country's precarious plight, a plight that would still exist had Hitler or Mussolini never come to power! Understand these forces and you will understand England's strange political behavior.

FRANCE'S SOCIALIST SEA-SAW. Reveals the events that account for the extraordinary backing-and-filling of French political parties, not the least of which is the desertion of Marx by the Radicals!

HOW VICTORIES ARE WRECKING GERMANY. Shows why the more Germany's program of self-sufficiency succeeds, the worse off she becomes! Can she solve her problem even if she goes to War?

MUSSOLINI'S WEAKNESS. Points to the tiny crack in Mussolini's armor that every foreign correspondent has missed.

THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES OVER STALIN. Unearths the one thing in Russia that Stalin can't "purge" and that can "purge" Stalin!

These and hundreds of other exciting, vital, interesting, irrefutable facts make CONSCRIPT EUROPE *the most fascinating and important book of the season!*

Ask your bookseller for—
Conscript Europe
By RANDOLPH LEIGH
$3.00 At All Bookstores
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
2 W. 45th Street, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAST CALL

EUROPE • MEXICO • SOVIET UNION

There are still a few vacancies in *Open Road* tours sailing late June and early July.

Varied and extensive itineraries. Rich social and cultural programs. Small groups. Generous services. Moderate rates.

For descriptive circulars address:

THE OPEN ROAD

Dept. C 8 W. 40th ST. NEW YORK

Cooperating in the Soviet Union with Intourist

Young Man with a Horn

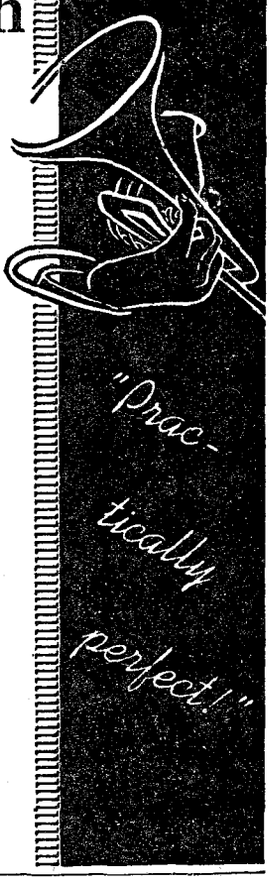
BY DOROTHY BAKER

"Practically perfect. . . . The most satisfying first novel I have read since 1935." — *Clifton Fadiman*

"Takes you into the strange world of dance orchestras to which it gives complete and convincing reality." — *Herschel Brickell*

"I read it in one sitting and was tremendously impressed. Next to Maurice Guest, it is the most successful musical novel I have ever encountered."—*Carl Van Vechten*

Third large printing $2.50



HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

NOW you may order

BOOKS

from THE NATION

At the request of many readers who reside in communities in which no bookshop has been established, *The Nation* now offers to deliver any book to your door at the regular publisher's price (postfree) providing payment is received with the order or publisher's price plus postage if sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division

The Nation • *20 Vesey Street* • *New York*

Russellian doctrines which have been long in dispute. The chief progress which Mr. Russell reports in his thinking since 1903 is his successive elimination of unnecessary entities, such as classes, points of space, instants of time, and particles of matter, and their replacement by logical constructions out of events. This, he believes, is all to the good. The fewer assumptions a logician has to make the happier he is. While other authors try to say as much as possible, the logician's whole bent is to say as little as possible. Those who retain an attachment to the material world, however, will regret the direction of Mr. Russell's skepticism. When he finds that natural entities of the world do not illustrate his logic, he turns upon them with suspicion and makes up others which will.

V. J. MCGILL

Shorter Notices

COMING FROM THE FAIR. By Norah Hoult. Covici, Friede. $2.50.

Georgian Ireland is shown in slow-motion collapse in this poetic story of a bygone period. Miss Hoult presents the O'Neills, prosperous Dublin burghers, as individual representatives of a vanished way of living. They are drawn with admirable clarity, and the chiaroscuro of the municipal and national scene which is their peculiar background is remarkable for its detail. Along with the O'Neills, as they appear in parlors and pubs, at high mass and cattle auctions, the author introduces various real personages of the Irish renaissance. Joyce, Yeats, and Gogarty all have their inning, and the Abbey Theater is a main point of departure for most of the racy discussions reported in the saloon episodes. Since "Coming from the Fair" is a rather bitter picture of this section of Ireland's history, it will upset all flag-waving patriots at home and abroad. What Miss Hoult questions, tacitly but insistently enough to have earned the displeasure of the Free State censor, is the value of progress to a so-called backward country. Education is on the upswing. "The whirring thrum of them mechanicalisms," as Denis Johnston has termed it in his somewhat analogous play "The Moon in the Yellow River," increases to Mr. De Valera's satisfaction. But not to Miss Hoult's. She cannot regard these alleged proofs of civilization as recompense for the loss of spontaneity and independence among the fighting Irish. Such a point of view is bound to be called reactionary by some. Those who hear the tale out will at least find it a warmly human document, spiced with humor, hard truths, and authentic reproductions of singing Irish speech.

HORATIO SEYMOUR OF NEW YORK. By Stewart Mitchell. Harvard University Press. $5.

A chieftain of the Albany regency dominating the New York Democratic organization, six times nominee and twice Governor of the state, Democratic Presidential candidate against Grant in 1868, Horatio Seymour was a pivotal political personage of his period. His failure to make any durable impression upon the political life of his time can be accounted for by the subordinate role of the conservative Northern interests he represented. During the Civil War, Seymour, an out-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

standing advocate of peace and conciliation, was elbowed aside by the Northern radicals and scorned by the Southern rebels, and like all unsuccessful compromisers in a revolutionary struggle, was consequently forgotten by posterity. In presenting this first full-length portrait of the man, Mr. Mitchell has filled a bare panel in mid-nineteenth-century American history. While the biographer is prevented by his general viewpoint, virtually identical with that of his hero, from appraising Seymour's career critically, he has uncovered much valuable historical information.

LETTERS OF MADAME DE SEVIGNE TO HER DAUGHTER AND HER FRIENDS. Selected, with an Introductory Essay, by Richard Aldington. Two Volumes. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

The prevailing French judgment on Madame de Sévigné was given by Sainte-Beuve, who said that she, "like La Fontaine, like Montaigne, is one of the subjects perpetually in the order of the day in France." But the judgment of English readers, as Richard Aldington observes in his informative if rather ill-written introduction to his selection of the "Letters," has never quite coincided. The personal qualities which made Madame de Sévigné what Sainte-Beuve said she was for the French reader, "not merely a classic but an acquaintance . . . a neighbor, a friend," are not so clear to us. Her amenity and urbane virtue grow wearisome. Her passion for her daughter, to whom most of the letters were written, is faintly disturbing, not in itself but because it was the only passion of her life. But of her talents as the social observer of a great and contradictory age we can have no doubt; if the personal charm of the "Letters" cannot easily win us, their historical interest does not fail, and the present volumes offer a convenient and adequate sampling of that aspect of the enormous correspondence.

RECORDS

LISTENING to the luminous opening measures of Mozart's Clarinet Quintet as recorded in the new Victor set (four records, $6.50) you recognize the strings as those of the Budapest Quartet; but you would never suspect that the man who produces the lifeless sequences of the clarinet a moment later is the Benny Goodman who plays a popular tune with such saliency of phrasing and tone. Apparently although Goodman understands and feels Mozart's music, its language is not the one he has grown up with and that he can speak, as a performer, with the naturalness, the richness and potency of inflection, with which he speaks the language of popular music. And inevitably his lack of ease affects the other members of the ensemble. But the playing of the Budapest strings, even when constrained by the clarinet, is still beyond anything to be heard from another quartet; and at times, when the clarinet is silent, they rise for the moment to their usual incandescence. Moreover, since Goodman's tone is delicate, the beauty wrought by the strings is not marred as the fine play-

Will he be the next President of the U. S.?

SOME hope so. Some fear so. John L. Lewis does not commit himself. But whether he chooses to run or not, as leader of the most articulate labor group America has ever known—the man who doubled the organized labor movement in two years—he will have a strong say in the selection of a candidate in 1940. In Detroit, in Wall Street, in Washington, everywhere in America people ask, What does this man want? Where is he going? You'll find the answers in this racy, human, anecdotal book by a Washington reporter who "sat down" and talked with the "Big Boy" almost daily for two years—and who gives an impartial, informative picture.

SIT DOWN WITH JOHN L. LEWIS

By C. L. SULZBERGER. *Illus. with photographs.* **$1.50**

RANDOM HOUSE, 20 E. 57 ST. N.Y.

Read what THE NATION says the biography critics are recommending for the next Pulitzer Prize

EAGLE FORGOTTEN

THE LIFE OF JOHN PETER ALTGELD

By Harry Barnard

"WE HAVE long needed an adequate biography of Altgeld, one of the most misunderstood and falsely vilified of American political leaders. This book meets this need in every way. Mr. Barnard has spent years in gathering his material and he has given us not only a well-written and sympathetic but also an authoritative biography.

"Altgeld lives . . . because of the integrity and compassion of his life, and because these qualities have struck root in the souls of men . . . they have caused the gifted author of the present chronicle to tell the truthful and moving story of Altgeld's life. One rises from this book with renewed faith in the ultimate judgment of history."—PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Illustrated **BOBBS-MERRILL** **$4.00**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATRE

Seats selling now for Next Twelve Weeks
"PINS AND NEEDLES"
HIT REVUE OF THE SEASON
With I L G W U players.
Lyrics and Music by Harold J. Rome
Staged by Charles Friedman.
NEW YORK—LABOR STAGE—106 W. 39th St. BRyant 9-1163.
Evenings: 8:40; Matinees: Wed. and Sat. 2:40.
AIR-CONDITIONED THEATRE

THE VILLAGE FAIR
WASHINGTON MEWS, JUST SOUTH OF NO. 1 FIFTH AVE.
CONTINUOUS FROM 2:30 TO MIDNIGHT
MATINEES FOR CHILDREN
JUNE 28, 29, 30
OUTDOOR DANCING, HARLEM SWING BAND
GAMES OF SKILL, PRIZES: CHAMPAGNE
BAR
BOOK BOOTH
ART BOOTH
SIDE SHOWS
BENEFIT SPANISH CHILDREN'S MILK FUND
AUSPICES WOMEN'S DIVISION
MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY
ADMISSION 50¢ INCL. DANCING

DAVID DORAN MEMORIAL MEETING

Thurs. June 30 • 8:30 P. M. • HIPPODROME 43 St. & 6th Ave. • Air Cooled • All Seats 25c

Lt. Col. David Doran, late political Commissar of Abraham Lincoln Brigade Killed Fighting for Democracy in Spain

SPEAKERS:

Lt. Col. STEVE NELSON — *Doran's Closest Co-worker in Spain*

ANGELO HERNDON — *Vice-President Young Communist League*

JOSEPH PASH — *Sec'y American Students League*

JAMES WATERMAN WISE — *Editor "Opinion" who visited Doran in Spain*

Chairman: DAVID McKELVY WHITE
Nat'l Chairman, Friends of Lincoln Brigade

AUSPICES:

FRIENDS of the ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE
125 West 45th Street, N. Y. C. • LOngacre 3-6215

WORKERS SCHOOL
Summer Term Registration
COURSES IN:

Economics	Public Speaking
Historical Materialism	Current Events
Marxism-Leninsm	Trade Unionism
American History	The Negro Question in America

For Descriptive Catalogue D write to the School Office, 35 E. 12th St., N. Y. C.

Going Places?

Take The *Nation* with you! But remember that when reporting a change of address subscribers are requested to give us three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new. *Write to*

THE NATION
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK CITY

ing of the Roth Quartet on Columbia is marred by the coarse tone of Bellison. The Victor set, then, falls short of what it promised; but what it offers makes it still the set to want and to prize.

Mozart's Divertimento K. 287 has been recorded for Victor by the Boston Symphony players under Fiedler who played it at the Friends of Music concert, and for Columbia (four records, $6) by Szigeti with the group led by Max Goberman that played it with him at his own concert. Victor did not send me its version; nevertheless I would have managed to hear it if I had felt there was point in hearing it; but the fact is that the only point to the work is a performance like Szigeti's of the solo violin part. Less dynamic in style but impressive in what it offers—the warmth of feeling and tone, the purity of phrasing—and in what this promises is young Ossy Renardy's performance of Corelli's beautiful Violin Sonata in E minor (one record, $1.50).

Egon Petri is heard at length with the London Philharmonic under Goehr in Tchaikovsky's Concerto, Opus 23 (Columbia: four records, $6), in which his playing is all that the music calls for but the teamwork is imperfect. The recording achieves better balance than the Victor and sounds so well on certain sides that the surfaces must be responsible for what I hear on others. On a single ($1.50) Petri also plays his arrangement of a Bach minuet and Sgambati's arrangement of the famous flute solo from Gluck's "Orfeo." It is interesting to observe the difference between the way this melody is played by a pianist and the way it is played by the solo flute in an orchestra—for example, in the performance by the New York Philharmonic under Toscanini. Petri does not play the melody on the piano in the simple, sustained style in which it is played on the flute, but with the hastenings and slackenings of pace, the correlated changes of volume, that are part of the personal, intimate, romantic style of the piano—or at least of some pianists; and in so doing he alters the melody's character and significance.

On five records ($10) Columbia offers an effective selection of passages from the Mercury Theater's "Julius Caesar"; on a single record ($1) a superb performance, by Thorborg with the Vienna Philharmonic under Walter, of Mahler's "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen," which is of the same emotional world as his "Lied von der Erde"; in a two-record set ($3.25) Lord Berners's amusing "Triumph of Neptune" brilliantly done by the London Philharmonic under Beecham; on another single ($1.50) colorful performances, by the same orchestra under Goehr, of the Moussorgsky-Liadov "Gopak" and the Dance of the Young Maidens from "Prince Igor."

"Anything to keep the machinery going" is the way I would account for some of the record companies' releases—among others the Vaughan Williams Symphony in F minor which Victor offers you (four records, $6.50). Decline politely; and perhaps Victor will occupy its machinery with Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 467. And if, meanwhile, you want to hear a really notable symphony by one who is really England's most distinguished composer get the Decca recording of the symphony of William Walton (six records, $4.50).

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTRIBUTORS

L. O. PRENDERGAST, a journalist now living in Mexico City, contributes regularly to *The Nation* on Mexican affairs.

ALEXANDER WERTH, Paris correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian*, will from now on represent *The Nation* in Paris.

MARK VAN DOREN, critic, editor, and poet, is associate professor of English at Columbia University.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN was formerly associate editor of *The Nation*.

FRANZ HOELLERING, born in Vienna, had a distinguished career as a journalist in Berlin, serving as editor of the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* and of the Ullstein publications. He is now living in this country.

EDA LOU WALTON is associate professor of English at Washington Square College, New York University.

PAUL M. SWEEZY is an instructor in economics at Harvard University and an editor of the *Review of Economic Studies*.

V. J. McGILL, professor of philosophy at Hunter College, is on the editorial board of *Science and Society*.

NOTE

[Our attention has been called to the fact that a certain reference to Rudolf Wildermann in Ludwig Lore's article entitled What Are the American Nazis Doing? in the June 5, 1937, issue of *The Nation* has been misconstrued by some persons as reflecting adversely on Mr. Wildermann. No such reflection was intended.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

RATES

Classified Advertisements

62 cents a line (six words)
MINIMUM—3 lines
$6.16 per inch

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York City
COrtlandt 7-3330

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Peoridicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

BOOKS

Henry George's Books

Sold here without profit. Ask for price list and appreciations by famous men—sent *free*.

None may call himself educated in social thought (says Dr. John Dewey) who lacks acquaintance with the great writings of Henry George. especially "Progress and Poverty." $1. Postpaid.

ROBERT SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION
8 Murray Street, New York City
SUPPORTED BY ENDOWMENTS

RECORDS

MUSIC LOVERS 100,000 of the finest records in the world on sale at 50c and 75c per record (value $1.50 and $2). The Symphonies, Chamber Music, Operas, etc., of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Wagner, etc. Mail Orders. Catalog.
The Gramophone Shop, Inc., 18 E. 48th St., New York

LECTURE

Committee for Defense of Democracy
1650 Broadway. CO. 5-0850

JAY ALLEN

Eminent International Journalist

"Spain and the Second Holy Alliance"

FRIDAY — JUNE 24th — 8:30 p. m.

HOTEL RIVERSIDE PLAZA, 253 West 73rd Street
(Bet. Broadway & West End Avenue)
ADM. 50c Including Cocktails

SUMMER RENTALS

Charming new house, 5 rooms, 2 enclosed porches; cultivated grounds. Adult activities, children's camp. Near Peekskill. JErome 6-4949.

Westport. Artistic 7 rooms; modern. Rent year or season, furnished-unfurnished. Tuesday-Wednesday, WAtkins, 9-1931 or Box 1047, c/o The Nation.

Connecticut. 60 miles. Cottage; fireplace, furnished, improvements; 6 acres, orchards, woods. Reasonable. CH 3-0574, before 9 A. M.; after 10 P. M.

Comfortable house to rent for summer, $500. 7 rooms, bath, garage, on 2 acres; shade. Charmingly furnished; excellent community-run camp. Valenstein, Mohegan Colony, near Peekskill. Apt. telephone WA 3-8465.

FURNISHED ROOMS FOR RENT

New Rochelle. Master bedroom, private porch, residential park, 4 blocks to station. Stein, 5 Boulevard, New Rochelle 2526.

FURNISHED STUDIO

Exceptionally large; sunny; cross-ventilation; centrally located unusually artistic surroundings; reasonable. SU 7-9880.

APARTMENT TO SHARE

Bachelor share with cultured gentleman 4-room apartment; separate bedroom, drop living room, terrace. Call PE 6-0945, 9-10:30, mornings.

SUBLET

Artistically furnished living room, kitchen; all improvements, radio, swimming pool; summer months. Reasonable. Chelsea section. BE 3-2238.

WANTED

A Florida Private Day School installing boarding department will cede substantial interest to experienced woman capable of taking full charge. Moderate investment required. Box 1048, c/o The Nation.

Auto workers, taxi, truck drivers, interested in cooperative write Frank Jenkins, P. O. Box 6128, Washington, D. C.

RESORTS

GREEN MANSIONS

A Complete Modern Camp and Country Club in the Adirondacks

Clubhouse — Each Room With Private Bath
Private Golf Course on Premises
Champion Tennis Courts
And All Other Sports Facilities
Professional Theatre
Chamber Music

SPECIAL JUNE RATES
And Free Use of Golf Course
Booklet on Request

LENA BARISH SAM GARLIN
Directors

NEW YORK OFFICE
11 West 42nd Street
BRyant 9-1738

TRAVEL

Mexico City via San Luis Potosi. Arranging small party tour Mexico. Comfortable open car. Itinerary expertly planned. Leave Washington D. C., August 13th, return September 10th. Transportation reasonable. Box 1044, c/o The Nation.

LISLE HOSIERY

Lisle mesh and plain stockings made in union mills, sold at wholesale prices. Eastern Hosiery Mills, 303 5th Ave., N. Y. C.

HOTEL

Overlooking the
WHITE HOUSE
IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Consistent with the atmosphere of a distinctive location, the luxurious comfort, dignified service, and superior cuisine of the Hay-Adams House blend into an environment that parallels the tastes of discriminating travellers. Hay-Adams rates make any other choice a poor economy.

Completely Air-Conditioned

RATES
FROM $3 SINGLE $4.50 DOUBLE

HAY-ADAMS HOUSE
SIXTEENTH AT H STREET
FACING LAFAYETTE PARK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

JULY 4th Week-End
features
RED GATE PLAYERS—
Authentic Chinese Shadow Plays.
FRENCH FILM, Private Lake,
Complete Land & Water Sports. Reservations Open.
SOUTH WIND Woodbourne, N. Y.
City Phone:
An Adult Camp LAckawanna 4-4026

A Modern Camp for Adults
Booklet on Request
33 WEST 42nd ST.
PEnn. 6-7663

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group
June $24.50 a Week
All Sports
Superior Cuisine
De Luxe Bungalows
Fare $4.65

TIMBERLAND In The Adirondacks
Pottersville, N. Y. (Warren County)
Esther R. Kessler — Israel H. Kessler

Modern Stage Plays
Send for Booklet

GOOD TIMES
Start on June 24 at
UNCAS LODGE
UNCASVILLE, CONN.
A modern adult camp with beautiful 165-acre New England farm
- 3 Fast Clay Tennis Courts
- Private Twin Lakes
- Boating—Fishing
- Handball—Ping Pong
- Orchestra for Dancing

Special Rate: $21 weekly June 24 to July 15
No additional charge—bungalows for two.
UNCAS LODGE Uncasville, Conn.
Management: Diana and Abe Berman
N. Y. Phone: SLocum 6-9327, after 5

STONY BROOK LODGE

A new, beautiful resort, 20-mile view, golf and horseback riding nearby. Water sports. Private salt water, bathing beach! Tennis, 50 miles from N. Y. via Rt. 25 or 25A. **Rates: $5 per day. Reservations advisable.** Come for a week-end or longer! **Tel. Stony Brook 565.**
STONYBROOK LODGE, Long Island, N. Y.

TWIN PINES
A camp for adults

De luxe accommodations in bungalows and main house . . at attractive rates. 3 day weekend, July 4th—$13.50 or $16.00. Intimate, friendly atmosphere; full athletic and social program.
Twin Pines on Trout Lake
S. Saidel, Lake George, N. Y.

RUSHBROOK LODGE

46 Miles from New York
the ideal all-year **Vacation Resort** where that homelike atmosphere prevails
Spacious Rooms Luxuriously Furnished
All Indoor and Outdoor Sports
Woodbury Falls P. O. Cornwall, N. Y.
Phone Highland Mills 7955

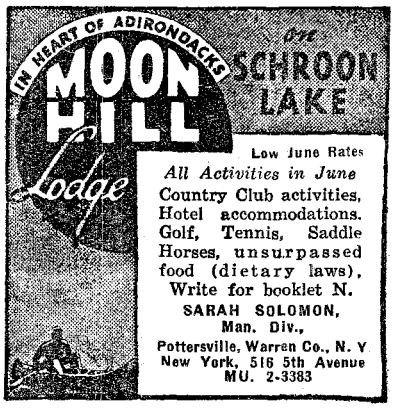
Lake Candlewood Orchards

BOX 44 BROOKFIELD, CONN.
in the picturesque Berkshires
Quaint—Charming—Unusual—25 mile lake —motor boating—all water sports—tennis —handball—Golf and riding nearby.
SPECIAL JUNE RATES
Write for Booklet BARBARA SHALET, Manager

PINE HILL FARM HOUSE

PLEASANT VALLEY, N. Y. DUTCHESS COUNTY
100 acres of beautiful secluded farm and woodland. Modern conveniences; handball, tennis, boating, fishing, swimming. No children Rate: $20 per wk. Tel: Pleasant Valley 2741.

RESORTS



Low June Rates
All Activities in June
Country Club activities, Hotel accommodations. Golf, Tennis, Saddle Horses, unsurpassed food (dietary laws). Write for booklet N.
SARAH SOLOMON, Man. Div.,
Pottersville, Warren Co., N. Y
New York, 516 5th Avenue
MU. 2-3383

July 4th Week-End
4 ROARING GOOD DAYS **$14.50**
Come anytime FRIDAY
Leave anytime MONDAY
Low June weekly rate: $22.50
JULY & AUGUST $22.50-$30
Dietary Laws

FEATURING Sacha's GYPSY CONTINENTALS and the COOKS FALLS LODGE Dance ORCHESTRA
Telephone Roscoe 2-F-13
COOKS FALLS LODGE
COOKS FALLS, N. Y.

BERKSHIRE PINES

In the Lovely Berkshire Hills
A combination parents have been seeking. Hotel facilities and a fully equipped day camp for children under intelligent guidance of 14 trained counsellors with progressive outlook.
All land and water sports—Golf nearby
VERY MODERATE RATES FOR JUNE
PEARL CHEIFETZ
West Copake, N. Y. Tel. Copake 46

Birdland

CENTRAL VALLEY • NEW YORK
Beautiful and secluded estate — 40 miles from N. Y., 225 acres of woodland — Mountains—5 miles of paths—Tennis, golf, handball, swimming and riding, excellent cuisine.
Tel. Highland Mills 7895. Open All Year.
Management: **FANNIE GOLDBERG**

THIS YEAR IT'S
CHODIKEE

HIGHLAND, N. Y. POPULAR ADULT CAMP
Carefree! Friendly! Informal!
JULY 4th (3 DAYS) $17.50. Write for Booklet
B'klyn Office: 1202-C Kings Highway. ES. 6-4130

VINEYARD LODGE

"A Homing in the Ulster Hills"
Established farm. Hundreds of acres. Vast Vineyards. Fruit, Vegetable, Dairy Products. Intriguing Woodland Trails. Tennis—Handball—Sun-bathing. All improvements. Swimming Facilities nearby. Dancing—Play—Entertainment. June Rates: $16.00 weekly.
J. Rosenthal, Ulster Park, N. Y. Kingston 3430

BREEZY HILL R. F. D. No. 1 BROOKFIELD, Ct.
Directly on Lake Candlewood. Beautiful estate. Modernized. Sports. Special June Rates: $4 a day—$25 a week. European-American Cuisine. Nina Adlers, formerly at Barlow Farm. Tel.: Danbury 1563-R-2.

Westlake Health Club MIDDLE RIVER RD. Danbury, Conn.
Avail yourself of the Unusual! Relax with us in the picturesque Connecticut hills. . . . Sports, bathing, recreations.

RESORTS

SPECIAL LOW RATES FOR JUNE

On the Mountain Lake Esopus, overlooking the beautiful Hudson River, social staff, dancing. All water and land sports. Fine Cuisine. Most modern improvements. Directions: Train-Bus-Boat to Kingston.
CHI-WAN-DA ON THE HUDSON
Ulster Park, New York
Phone: Kingston 1329
Jacob L. Doroshkin, 432 East 16th Street
GRamercy 3-6454

BARLOW FARM Candlewood Lake Sherman, Conn.
In the foothills of the Berkshires. 70 miles from New York. Splendid chef, continental kitchen. All modern conveniences, tennis, etc.
A few bungalows for rent.
4th of July Week-end—3 Days $10.50
MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW
Call New York Office: MAin 4-8276, *evenings*

CAMP NAIVELT

NEWBURGH, NEW YORK
For boys and girls ages 4 to 15. Also complete activities for adults. All modern accommodations in a progressive environment Reasonable rates.
Jacob Levin, Director. Address (till June 30): 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C. Phone: CH 3-9080.
After June 30: Camp Naivelt, Newburgh, N. Y. Phone: Newburgh 4668

BOULDER GREENS. A DUDE RANCH in the Adirondacks 14 miles from Lake George. Magnificent scenery; 2,000 feet altitude. Free saddle horses; private lake, canoes, tennis, handball, all sports. New log ranch house, log cabins, electricity, showers. Tel. 109-F-5. Write for booklet. R. J. Venton, Warrensburg, N. Y.

ROBIN HOOD LODGE, in the Adirondacks. One mile from Warrensburg. Private beach on Echo Lake. Tennis, handball, badminton, swimming and canoeing. Cabins. Guests met at Lake George. $21-$22-23. Tel. 27-F-2. R. J. Venton.

KUTAY'S RIVERSIDE CAMP on Delaware. Modern, all sports, excellent Jewish-American meals. Extensive farm. Capacity 40. Bushkill, Pa. Tel Bushkill 9158-R-3.

MAPLEHURST RANCH—Croton Falls. **JULY 4th WEEK-END—3 days $18.00.** Free horses. Sports. Weekly, $28.00 Phone Number 27.

Berkshire Foothills. Few Guests; Quiet; Restful; Excellent Meals; Fishing; Swimming Modern Conveniences; $16-18 week; near station, Copake Falls. GARDNER FARMS, Ancramdale, Columbia, Co., N. Y.

Unspoiled Vermont! Enjoy a vacation of peace and beauty with small group of progressives, $12-$15 week. Write: Ethan Allen Farm, R.F.D. 2, Chester, Vermont.

Enjoy summer on Hudson. Private beach. Sailing boats supplied. Spacious furnished double room, private bath, half-hour commuting Washington bridge. $15 weekly. Board optional. Piermont 413 or Box 1050, c/o The Nation.

TULIP TREES. The American Riviera. 35 minutes from South Ferry. Call or write: 45 Chicago Ave., Arrochar Park, Staten Island, N. Y., GIbraltar 7-5862.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

Progressive camp, regular fee, $275; will accept boy 14-16 at $150. Younger girls considered. Box 1049, c/o The Nation.

LAKEWOOD MODERN SCHOOL CAMP

CARMEL, NEW YORK (Near Lake Carmel, Rt. 52)
A progressive Camp for boys and girls from four to fourteen years of age.
Write or phone for information:
JAMES & NELLIE DICK
Camp phone: Carmel 334

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED